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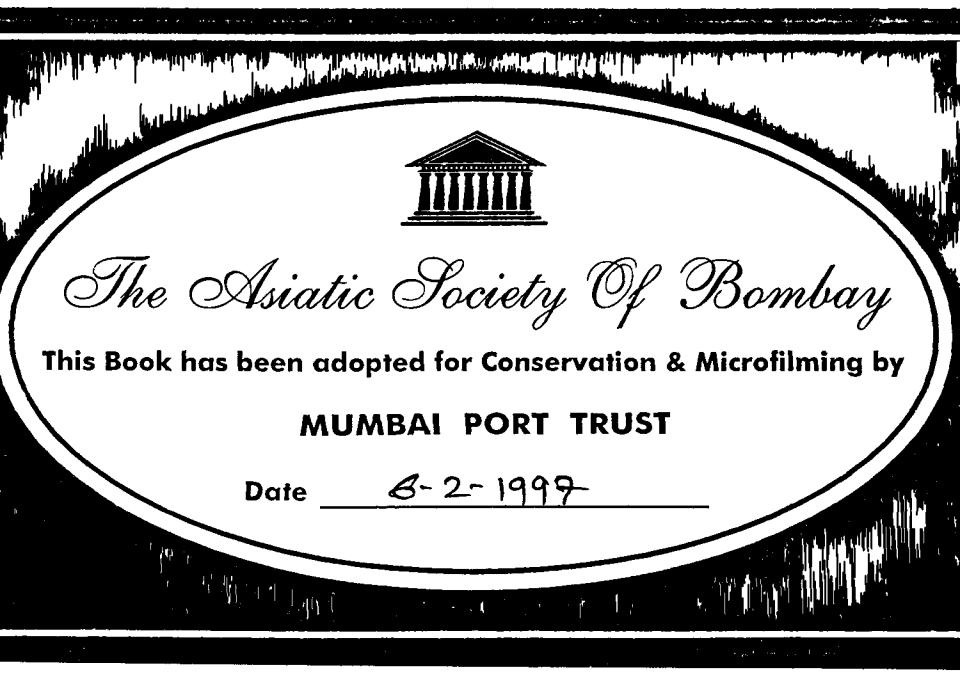
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THE

COMMENTARIES

OF THE GREAT

AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE,

SECOND VICEROY OF INDIA.

60958

TRANSLATED FROM THE

PORTUGUESE EDITION OF 1774,

With Notes and an Introduction,

BY

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L.,

SENIOR ASSISTANT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM; HONORARY LIBRARIAN OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE; HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION ETC.

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FROM THE EDITION OF 1774.

WORKS ISSUED BY

The Hakluyt Society.

THE COMMENTARIES OF THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE

No. LV.

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INTRODUCTION.

Por terra jaz o Emporio do Oriente,
Que do rigido Affonso o ferro, o raio
Ao grão Filho ganhou do grão Sabaio,
Envergonhando o Deos armipotente.

Cahio Goa, terror antigamente
Do Naire vão, do pérfido Malaio,
De barbaras Nações...ah! que desmaio
Apaga o Marcio ardor da Lusa Gente.

Oh Seculos de Heróes! Dias de Gloria!
Varões excelsos, que, a pezar da Morte,
Viveis na tradição, viveis na Historia!

"Albuquerque terrivel, Castro forte",
Menezes, e outros mil, vossa memoria
Vinga as injúrias, que nos faz a Sorte.

MANOEL MARIA DE BARBOSA DU BOCAGE, *Soneto* XXIX.

In the Introduction to the first volume of my translation of the COMMENTARIES OF THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE, I reserved for a future occasion some account of the foundation, rise, progress, and decay of the Portuguese Empire in the Eastern Indies, and some Bibliographical notes in reference to the Indian Cycle of Portuguese Literature, because these two great subjects could hardly be treated with due consideration in that volume. In the course of my remarks upon these points, which must necessarily be very limited even here, I shall incorporate a brief out-

line of the exploits of our hero Afonso Dalboquerque, so far as they are put before the reader now for the first time in their English form, that is, down to the first and unsuccessful attack upon the most important position ever held by the Portuguese in the great Indian Continent, viz., the fortress and Island of Goa, and to this I shall add some description of the settlement itself, gathered from such works as treat of this subject.

It was not until the final decade of the fifteenth century that the idea of a fourth quarter of the world, so long and so extensively prevalent among the ancients, began to be put to a crucial and practical test, in place of the visionary theories and unstable conjectures which those who had nothing better to adduce concerning this unseen and unknown world found so easy to multiply and disseminate. As we all know, the honour of the first finding belongs to modern navigators, and mainly, as well as primarily, to the great Christopher Columbus, whose researches in the necessary sciences and arts of the sailor led him irresistibly, and with all the greater force because they led him truly, to believe that the equilibrium of the terrestrial globe demanded incontrovertibly that there should be another continent or hemisphere lying to the westward, and as yet unknown to the civilised world. Of the discoveries which were the result of this great man's inductions—discoveries which were not brought about without an amount of depreciation and obstructiveness almost amounting to prohibition on the part of others, nor without self-denial and endurance on his own part

which would have deterred many from a successful prosecution of them — there is no need to speak here, although indirectly they assisted the settlement of the Portuguese in India, because they stimulated and confirmed the intense desire for maritime investigations which had seized upon so many persons when they contemplated the good fortune which had at length attended the labours of doubling the Cape of Good Hope. I do not pretend to decide whether Columbus, who had acquired his skill in navigation among the Portuguese, and who, therefore, could not but be aware of that nation's long meditated design of discovering the naval road to India round the African coast, was, or not, actuated, as some have asserted, by any feeling of jealousy with respect to the then nearly discovered eastern passage to India, and desired to acquire, for a rival maritime power, a more easy and, as he thought, a shorter western passage, which had been rejected by the Portuguese, to the same places. At the very time that the Spaniards were carrying on their great works of discovery in the newly-found western hemisphere, the sister kingdom of Portugal, shut out from any solid participation in these conquests by the bull of Pope Alexander VI (who adjudged the countries lying to the west of an imaginary meridian line at the distance of four hundred and seventy leagues to the west of Cape Verd and the Azores to be the rightful possession of the King of Spain, while those lands only which when discovered should fall to the eastward of that great circle should belong to the Portuguese monarch), was busily engaged in extending her much anterior

paths of discovery in the very opposite direction,[1] although Brazil fell, by virtue of accidental discovery in the year 1500 by the Portuguese commander Alvares Cabral as well as by the operation of this papal arbitrament.

In one very important point the springs which actuated and the machinery which directed Spanish and Portuguese maritime discovery and colonial enterprise differed. The former people, not given to commercial lines of thought, failed to observe the immense financial and political advantages which a well organised system of trade in the natural, nay, spontaneous products of their newly acquired territories offered to their native kingdom; the precious metal alone attracted their attention: the accursed greed of gold, solid mountains of which presented themselves to the over-excited imaginations and sanguine temperaments of a people by very nature prone to irritability and fierce excitements, occupied all their thoughts and prevented them from more generous and noble actions. Hence arose the [illegible] working of mines, the introduction of foreign, generally negro, labour, the enslaving, persecution, and, finally, extermination of native tribes, the disastrous effects of which proceedings are felt to this very day in the American continents.

The Portuguese, on the other hand, were not so much impelled by the cupidity of gold, as by the ever increasing desire for commercial intercourse with their

[1] In 1497, the year before Columbus made the voyage which discovered the mouths of the River Oronoko, Vasco da Gama sailed on his first voyage to India.

newly made subjects: and next to the imposition of a tribute upon the inhabitants of districts, or petty kingdoms, added to the Lusitanian yoke, who were left in other respects to the free exercise of their own forms of government, the key-note of all the proceedings of this European power in the West and in the East, immediately upon obtaining a footing in places of apparent promise, is the acquisition of a factory—necessarily a strong house, fortress, or impregnable castle, wherein the few who were placed to manage the sales and purchases might, if necessity should arise, withdraw, for the preservation of their lives against the fury of whole armies arrayed against them.

Whatever may have been the first impulse which set men thinking of land beyond the Eastern seas, there is no doubt that the Portuguese naval expedition fitted out by Dom João I, King of Portugal, against the Moorish Princes of Africa—with the chivalrous intention of giving his sons an opportunity of exhibiting their prowess and dexterity, and of earning knightly honours—and brought to a successful issue by the capture of Ceuta in 1415, had such an influence upon one of the sons of that sovereign, Dom Henrique, Duke of Viseu, that he encouraged his countrymen in their nascent tastes for navigation,[1] maritime enterprises, and riparial exploration which had been thus inaugurated in so

[1] "He had already, in 1412, three years before the reduction of Ceuta, sent a ship to make discoveries on the Barbary coast. Cape *Num*, as its name *(No)* implies, was then the *ne plus ultra* of European navigation; the ship sent by Henry, however, passed it sixty leagues, and reached Cape *Bojador*."—*Mickle*.

auspicious and happy a manner. Mr. Major's exhaustive work, entitled "The Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator, and its Results..... with new facts in the discovery of the Atlantic Islands", London, 1868, is so well known and so universally accredited, that nothing need be here said respecting this scientific and enlightened prince by way of biography, beyond the fact that he established his abode at Sagrez, about a league and a half distant from Cape St. Vincent, a promontory at the western extremity of the province of Algarve, in the south of Portugal, and there ordered ships to be constructed at his own expense, and doubtless under his own superintendence, to which he afterwards appointed selected naval adventurers, who had been invited from all parts for this object, and despatched them to reconnoitre the far stretching coasts of the African continent. Hence fell to the genius of this organisation the practical discovery and colonisation of the islands of Madeira by Juan Gonsalez Zarco and Tristan Vaz in 1420; the Canary Islands in 1424; ceded or abandoned to Spanish claims[1] by a treaty in 1481; the Azores, discovered in 1449 by Gonçalo Vello, and colonised in 1431; and the Cape Verd Islands in 1460.

These discoveries, although infinitely inferior in point of value and historical interest to others which this

[1] In consequence of the statement that Jean de Bethencourt, or Jon de Betancour, a native of France, but in the service of the King of Castile, had in 1402 made a settlement in these islands, which had originally been discovered, it is said by some Biscayneers, about the year 1340.—*See* "The Canarian", Hakl. Soc., No. XLVI.

Portuguese nation, then in the summit of its splendour and renown, were so soon about to make, were not without their uses as incentives to that yearning spirit of extended journeys by sea which were destined to be promoted so extensively, and to render illustrious for ever the names of those who conceived them. For, although the reign of Alonzo V witnessed but little real progress in these discoveries, yet the reign of João II beheld the erection of a fort on the Gold Coast in 1481; the assumption of the title "Lord of Guinea" by the King; the operations of the Portuguese carried down to the lowest points of the African mainland; the Stormy Cape successfully doubled in 1486 by the Admiral Diaz; and the continent of India revealed to the prowess of Vasco da Gama.

The adventures of Vasco da Gama have afforded to the Portuguese Virgil, Luiz de Camões, the theme for one of the most beautiful epic poems ever written in any European language. Of prose, and, therefore, more circumstantial accounts of the hero's doings in those far off lands, perhaps the best, certainly the most accessible to English readers, is Lord Stanley's "Three Voyages", published by the Hakluyt Society in 1869, from the *Lendas da India* of Gaspar Correa, printed for the first time by the Lisbon Academy in 1858-63. This navigator was despatched with the command of a fleet of three vessels,[1] to follow up the mission of the

[1] See an illustration of one of them, the *San Gabriel*, commanded by Vasco da Gama himself, from an original picture in Lisbon, formerly in the possession of D. João de Castro, in Mr. W. S. Lindsay's *History of Merchant Shipping*, vol. ii, page 5.

two royal equerries, Pedro de Covilham, and Gonsalvo de Pavia, otherwise called Alonzo de Payva, whom the Portuguese King had dispatched secretly to "learn of many lands, and wander in many parts, because they knew many languages", for "in the year one thousand four hundred and eight-four, there came to Portugal the King of Benin, a Caffre by nation", from whom he "collected much information about India and its affairs, for he was very desirous to learn with much certainty that the King of it was Prester John, who was a Christian and the lord of great riches. Which information produced so great an impression upon the King's heart, that he became possessed with an earnest resolve to send and learn about and discover India."

We may safely leave the narrative of Vasco da Gama to the great poet of his own nation; and the reader who prefers them in an English form may gather some, even though faint, idea of style of the subject through the medium of the translations of quaint Fanshaw and Quillinan, or pompous Mickle. These, and Lord Stanley's Correa, in addition to a very excellent *resumé* in the second volume of Mr. Lindsay's *Merchant Shipping*, I fear must take the place of the old Portuguese historians whose works yet await translation into English. The main points in the "First Voyage of Vasco da Gama" may be taken succinctly thus, according to Correa:—He sails from Lisbon on the 25th of March, 1497, and, after a voyage of nearly five months, arrives at St. Helena Bay on the 18th of August, doubles the Cape, and enters rivers on the Eastern Coast in November, and sights the coast of

Natal on the 25th of December in the same year. In the early part of January, he enters the Rio dos Reis or Mercy River, where he stays a month to careen his ships, and one of them commanded by Nicolas Coelho was broken up. The two remaining vessels reached Mozambique at the end of March, where they remained for a space of about three weeks, leaving that country on Sunday, the 8th or 15th of April. The expedition reached Mombasa on the 21st, and Melinde on the 29th of the same month; and, after a long stay of three months, set sail and sighted the coast of India, at the Monte Dely, or Delielly, Rat Mountain, near Cananor, on the 26th of August. The first place on the Indian mainland touched by these navigators was Calicut, where they remained for seventy days, and from thence made their way to Cananor, Angediva, and Melinde, the latter place being reached on the 8th of January, 1499, marking the limit of the first voyage. The homeward journey commenced with the setting out from Melinde on the 20th of January; in it occurred the melancholy death of Paulo da Gama, the brother of Vasco da Gama, and Captain of the second ship, the *Sam Raphael*, and his burial at Terceira in the Azores at the end of August; and ends with the arrival at Lisbon on the 18th of September.

The incident of doubling the Cape of Good Hope—an incident of lasting honour to his nation—afforded to Camões an opportunity of introducing into the fifth canto of his Epic one of the finest passages to be met with in the whole cycle of Portuguese literature. I shall therefore venture, without any fear of wasting

space in these pages, to introduce portions of the passage, in support of remarks, upon the value of studying the language, which I have made in my Introduction to the first volume.

37.

Porèm já cinco soes eram passados,
Que dalli nos partiramos, cortando
Os mares nunca d'outrem navegados,
Prosperamente os ventos assoprando:
Quando huma noite estando descuidados
Na cortadora proa vigiando,
Huma nuvem, que os ares escurece,
Sobre nossas cabeças apparece.

38.

Tão temerosa vinha, e carregada,
Que poz nos corações hum grande medo,
Bramindo o negro mar de longe brada,
Como se désse em vão n'algum rochedo.
O! Potestade, disse, sublimada!
Que ameaço divino, ou que segredo
Este clima, e este mar nos apresenta,
Que mór cousa parece, que tormenta?

39.

Não acabava, quando huma figura
Se nos mostra no ar, robusta e valida,
De disforme e grandissima estatura,
O rosto carregado, a barba esqualida,
Os olhos encovados, e a postura
Medonha e má, e a cor terrena e pallida,
Cheios de terra e crespos os cabellos,
A boca negra, os dentes amarellos.

40.

Tão grande era de membros, que bem posso
Certificar-te, que este era o segundo
De Rhodes estranhissimo colosso,
Que hum dos sete milagres foi do mundo:

C'hum tom de voz nos falla horrendo e grosso,
Que parece sahir do mar profundo:
Arrepiam-se as carnes, e o cabello
A mi, e a todos, só de ouvi-lo e ve-lo.

41.

E disse: O! gente ousada mais que quantas
No mundo commetteram grandes cousas,
Tu, que por guerras cruas, taes e tantas,
E por trabalhos vãos nunca repousas:
Pois os vedados terminos quebrantas,
E navegar meus longos mares ousas,
Que eu tanto tempo ha já que guardo, e tenho,
Nunca arados d'estranho, ou proprio lenho:

42.

Pois vens ver os segredos escondidos
Da natureza, e do humido elemento,
A nenhum grande humano concedidos
De nobre ou de immortal merecimento;
Ouve os damnos de mi, que apercibidos
Estão a teu sobejo atrevimento
Por todo o largo mar, e pela terra,
Que inda has de sobjugar com dura guerra.

43.

Sabe, que quantas naos esta viagem,
Que tu fazes, fizerem de atrevidas
Inimiga terão esta paragem,
Com ventos, e tormentas desmedidas:
E da primeira armada, que passagem
Fizer por estas ondas insoffridas,
Eu farei d'improviso tal castigo,
Que seja mór o damno, que o perigo.

* * * *

50.

Eu sou aquelle occulto e grande Cabo,
A quem chamais vós outros Tormentorio,
Que nunca a Ptolomeo, Pomponio, Estrabo,
Plinio, e quantos passaram, fui notorio:
Aqui toda a Africana costa acabo
Neste meu nunca vista promontorio,

Que para o polo Antarctico se estende
A quem vossa ousadia tanto offende.

51.

Fui dos filhos asperrimos da terra,
Qual Encélado, Egeo, e o Centimano :
Chamei-me Adamastor, e fui na guerra
Contra o que vibra os raios de Vulcano :
Não que puzesse serra sobre serra ;
Mas, conquistando as ondas do Oceano,
Fui capitão do mar, por onde andava
A armada de Neptuno, que eu buscava.

52.

Amores da alta esposa de Peleo
Me fizeram tomar tamanha empreza,
Todas as deosas desprezei do ceo,
Só por amar das agoas a princeza :
Hum dia a vi co'as filhas de Nereo
Sahir nua na praia ; e logo preza
A vontade senti de tal maneira,
Que inda não sinto cousa, que mais queira.

* * * *

56.

Oh que não sei de nojo como o conte !
Que, crendo ter nos braços quem amava,
Abraçado me achei c'hum duro monte
De aspero mato, e de espessura brava :
Estando c'hum penedo fronte a fronte,
Que eu pelo rosto angelico apertava,
Não fiquei homen não, mas mudo e quedo,
E junto d'hum penedo outro penedo.

* * * *

59.

Converte-se-me a carne em terra dura,
Em penedos os ossos se fizeram,
Estes membros que vês, e esta figura
Por estas longas agoas se estenderam :
Em fim, minha grandissima estatura
Neste remoto cabo converteram

Os deoses ; e, por mais dobradas magoas,
Me anda Thetis cercando destas agoas.

37.

Five suns since we departed thence had set,
And smoothly wafted by a prosperous gale
We cleaved the seas where never nation yet
But ours had urged the exploratory sail;
When, as we watch'd one night, and not a threat
Of change disturb'd us, sure that all was well,
A cloud from overhead its shadow cast,
And densely lowering brooded o'er the mast.

38.

So heavily it gloom'd athwart our board,
A solemn fear to every heart it struck,
While from afar the blacken'd ocean roar'd
As if in thunder bursting on a rock.
"Oh what is this?" I cried, "Almighty Lord!
What threat divine? What new mysterious shock
Portend these howling waves, this sea diform?
For this is something greater than a storm!"

39.

While yet I spoke, what shape before us grew?
A mighty phantom in the air appear'd,
Uncouth, enormous, horrible to view,
With savage front and squalid length of beard,
And cavern'd eyes, and haggard earthly hue,
And evil scowl of thing that would be fear'd:
His tangled locks were thick with sand and slime,
And clots of ooze his hideous mouth begrime.

40.

So huge was he of limb, that I may swear
His bulk by that Colossus unsurpast
Which brought to Rhodes the wise of Greece, to stare
At one of earth's seven wonders. All aghast
We heard his voice that rent the trembling air,
A voice which seem'd from the abyss upcast:

To see, to hear, this monster on the deep,
Made the hair bristle and the flesh to creep.

41.

"O race the most audacious!" thus he spake—
"The world for measureless ambition knows,
You that for cruel warfare, and the sake
Of vain adventures ever shun repose;
Since those forbidden boundaries ye break,
And press along my seas your daring prows,
Seas by no keel for many a cycle plough'd,
So long 'twas mine to guard them and to shroud;

42.

"Since you are come to pierce the depths conceal'd
Of Nature, and the secrets of a tide
To mortal heroes never yet reveal'd,
Not even to those for prowess deified;—
Hear, then, from me the woes on flood and field
Prepared to scourge your rashness, and the pride
Of triumphs ye must reach with desperate hand,
For horror waits you both on sea and land.

43.

"Know that whatever ships hereafter brave,
Like yours, these fatal latitudes, shall find
A fierce antagonist in every wave,
A raging enemy in every wind.
And the first warlike force these waters lave
To it, on rough and boist'rous route inclined—
By me shall sudden punishment be dealt—
More than the danger shall the loss be felt.

* * * *

50.

"The Spirit of yon haughty cliff am I,
Called Cape of Storm by your precursor bold;
A headland in impassive mystery,
Enshrouded from geographers of old.
Here end the Afric shores that nearest lie
Unto the pole Antarctic,—shores controll'd
By that, my mountain throne so long occult,
Which you in your audacity insult.

51.

My name was Adamastor; I was one
Of those gigantic brothers, born of Earth,
As vast Ægeon and Enceladon,
Who against the Lord of Thunder tried their worth
In battle: they Heaven's fortress would have won,
By piling hill on hill; but I went forth
To be their champion on the Ocean-plain,
And challenge Neptune on his own domain.

52.

By love for Peleus' spouse, my fated scourge,
Was I to this wild enterprise suborn'd;
For her, the radiant Princess of the surge,
The goddesses of all the heaven I scorn'd.
One day I saw her from the wave emerge,
In nought but her own loveliness adorn'd,
Attended by the Nereids: from that hour
I felt—and yet I feel—her fatal power.

* * * *

56.

Oh, how can I record my vile disgrace!
I found, instead of her whom I adore,
A crag encircled in my wild embrace,
A thorny cliff outstanding on the shore:
This was my prize angelic, face to face
I grappled with a mountain! Man no more,
But mute and passive, senseless with the shock
I stood, another rock against a rock.

* * * *

59.

My living flesh obdurate earth became,
My bones a hard inexorable heap;
Head, trunk, and limbs, yet conscious to the shame,
A wall of rock, a wide and towering steep.
What once was Adamastor's giant frame
Is now the Storm-Cape, glooming o'er the deep;
So will'd the gods, and to torment me more,
The waves of Thetis dance about my shore."

Edw. Quillinan, 1853.

The Additional MS. 20,902 in the British Museum, which is entitled "Relação das Nâos e Armadas da India, Com os successos dellas, que se pudéram saber, para Noticia e instrucção dos Curiozos, e amantes da Historia da India," and was formerly in the possession of Lord Stuart de Rothesay, affords us a very succinct account of the first voyage of Dom Vasco da Gama; —this I give here in a literal translation, because it evidently incorporates into one historical sequence, and summarises, the principal events related in detail and at length by the Portuguese historians:—

"VASCO DA GAMA, CHIEF CAPTAIN, 1497.

"On[1] the second of June, 1497, there set out from Lisbon, in order to discover Oriental India, Vasco da Gama (the eldest son of Estevão da Gama, who was Comptroller *(veador)* of the household of the King Dom Affonso the Fifth, and of Dona Isabel Sodré, his wife), as chief captain of four ships; himself in the *São Raphael;* Paulo da Gama, his second brother,

[1] A marginal note in this manuscript says: "Another relation states that there set forth on the 8th of July Va[s]co da Gama in the ship *S. Gabriel;* Paulo da Gama, his brother, in the *S. Raphael,* Niculâo Coelho in the ship *Berrio;* Gonçalo Nunes in a ship with supplies; and that the people of this ship of Gonçalo Nunes, and the supplies which she carried, after having passed the Cape of Good Hope, beyond the *Agouda* of S. Bras, were divided by the others of the company; and after she had been stripped they set fire to her; and that Paulo da Gama's ship, returning to Portugal went aground on the shallows between Quiloa and Mombáça, which are called [the shallows] of S. Raphael, on account of the ship, which was so named, and that the people were distributed between the two others of the company."

in the *São Gabriel;* Nicolâo Coelho in the *São Miguel.* Gonçalo Nunes was captain of á ship with supplies which, before reaching the Cape of Good Hope, they stowed away in the vessels, and he returned to this kingdom [of Portugal.] And the vessel *S. Gabriel,* wherein went Paulo da Gama, was taken to pieces to repair the others, because she was very much shaken, and could not continue her voyage in a river which is in the Cafre land beyond the Cape of Good Hope, that was named the *River of Mercy;* and Paulo da Gama was transferred to the ship of his brother, and the men were divided between the two, and thence they set out to follow up their voyage. And being at anchor at Moçambique, where the Xeque endeavoured to seize their ships by treachery, they disembarked on the Island of São Jorge, where the first mass on the further side of the Cape of Good Hope was celebrated. Thence they went to Quiloa and Mombaça, and the kings of all these islands endeavoured to treat them treacherously, but God suffered nothing thereof to take effect; and so to Melinde, where the King received them faithfully, and gave them pilots in whom they could trust, and these led them to Angediva, where they fought with the *fustas* of the Sabayo, Lord of Goa, over whom they obtained the victory. And from that place they proceeded to Calicut, where the Samorȳ planned much treachery against them that did not take effect. Thence they went to Coçhim, where they were well received by the king, and in Cananor in the same manner, where they completed the lading of the two

vessels and returned to this kingdom, and arrived at Lisbon in safety on the 18th of September, 1499. Paulo da Gama died of infirmity in the Island of Terçeira, in the city of Angra; he is buried there in the convent of São Françisco of the same city."

In continuation of this circumstantial account of the yearly naval expeditions of Portugal to the East, the same MS. relates the next proceedings as follows:—

"PEDRALVARES CABRAL, CHIEF CAPTAIN, 1500.

"Pedralvares Cabral set[1] out as chief captain of thirteen ships on the 9th of March, 1500. Captains, Sancho de Thoar, who on returning to Portugal was

[1] The marginal note says:—"Another relation states that the captains who set out with the chief captain were: Sancho de Toar, Simam de Miranda, Ayres Gomes da Silva (lost in a storm), Niculão Coelho, Nuno Leitam, Vasco de Atayde (lost in a storm), Bertolameu Dias (lost in a storm), Pero Dias his brother, Gaspar de Lemos, Luis Pires, Simão de Pina (lost in a storm), Pero de Atayde. And in the events which it narrates concerning the fleet, it states:—The tempest whereby the four ships mentioned above were lost, struck them in the crossing *(travessa)* to Brazil on their way to the Cape of Good Hope, whereby the ship of Simam de Miranda struck against that of Pero Alvarez Cabral, but miraculously was saved; and by reason of the same tempest Pero Dias was separated from the company of the others, and made his way to Magadaxo, hard by the Cape of Guardafuy, and on his return he met with Pedro Alvarez at Cape Verde, and Luis Pires arrived at Portugal; Sancho de Toar, on the return voyage to Portugal, was wrecked, by a high wind blowing dead against him, on a bank near the coast of Melinde, and after saving all his people, the ship was set on fire. Gaspar de Lemos returned from *Santa Cruz*, the land of Brasil, to this kingdom with the news of its discovery."

wrecked on a bank close to Quiloa, but he saved himself, with all his company and cargo; Simão de Miranda de Azevedo, Bras Matoso, Vasco de Attajde, were wrecked by a storm on the islands which were afterwards named those of Tristão da Cunha; Nuno Leitão da Cunha, Simão de Pina, Nicolão Coelho, Pero de Figueiredo, Bartholameo Dias (who was also lost), Diogo Dias, Luiz Pi[re]z, Gaspar de Lemos, Andre G[onça][ve]z, who returned to the kingdom with six ships, namely, one which he took from Brazil, and five which he carried in his company, and the others were lost.

"This fleet discovered Brazil on the third of May, the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (*Sancta Cruz*), and for this reason they applied that same name to all that land. And in the same [year] factories were established in Cananor, Calicut, and in Coçhim, and officers were stationed in all of these places, except in Calicut, for in a tumult there the [people] killed the Factor Aires Correa, although the chief captain was there.

"And this fleet discovered Sophala, and the war continued to rage in Calicut; and in this fleet there went eight friars of São Françisco, who were the first religious that passed over to India; and for their custodian there went Frey Henrique, who was afterwards Bishop of Seita, chief inquisitor of this kingdom, and Archbishop of Bragua.

"Of these friars two suffered martyrdom in the rebellion at Calicut."

Encouraged by these discoveries, and nothing

daunted by the destruction which the winds and waves had exercised upon this large fleet, the Portuguese rapidly fitted out a new squadron of navigators, who eagerly set upon the work of prosecuting their voyages into unknown quarters; and accordingly we find the following mention, in the same manuscript, of—

"JOÃO DA NOVA, CHIEF CAPTAIN, 1501.

"João[1] da Nova, chief captain of four ships, set out on the 15th of March; Captains, Francisco de Novais, Fernão Pacheco, Misser Vineto, a Florentine: he returned to the kingdom with all his ships safely, and discovered, on his coming back, the Island of St. Illena,[2] which is in sixteen degrees south latitude, and on going out, the island which is called João da Nova,[3] which is in front of Moçambique."

The next year witnessed redoubled activity in the naval enterprise of the Portuguese, the principal event being the second voyage of Vasco da Gama to India in 1502, with a fleet of fifteen vessels, which, after having arrived safely at Mozambique, touched at

[1] The marginal comment relates:—"Another account reads as follows. The chief captain, João da Nova, Alcaide of Lisboa; Diogo Barboza, *Criado* of Dom Alvaro, brother of the Duke of Bargança; Françisco de Navaes; Fernam Vinet, a Florentine; and says that while they were in 8 degrees south latitude, they found an island which they named *Conceiçâo* (*Conception Island*, now *Ascension Island*, 7 deg. 57 min. S. lat., 14 deg. 28 min. W.), and on returning to the kingdom they found that of *St. Elena*."

[2] St. Helena, 16 deg. S., 5 deg. 38 min. W.

[3] Juan de Nova Island, in the Mozambique Channel, 17 deg. 10 min. S., 42 deg. 54 min. E.

Quiloa in July, and visited Melinde, Onor, Baticala, and Cananor. On the way to the last-mentioned place a horrid butchery of Moors, who were captured in a large ship of Calicut, coming from Mekkah to Mount Dely,[1] was carried out under the orders of the chief captain, Vasco da Gama himself.[2] This and other somewhat similar occurrences tarnish the bright shield of glory which that intrepid discoverer richly merits, and calls forth from Mr. Lindsay a well-timed indignation when he says, "Although[3] the first voyage of Da Gama may be read with satisfaction, no language can be found sufficiently strong to denounce his subsequent career, and especially his diabolical conduct towards the Moors and natives on his second expedition to India. And to that conduct, too faithfully adopted by his successors, may in a great measure be attributed the loss, as well as the gain, of the Portuguese Empire in the East." After establishing a factory at Cananor, Vasco da Gama departed for Calicut, which he bombarded; and here was perpetrated a second brutality, even more horrid than the former, and one which, for savage and bloodthirsty cruelty and extreme suffering, perhaps has no equal in the records of mediæval European history.[4] The details of this crime call to mind the refined tortures of the Chinese and Japanese, or the studied infliction

[1] See a plan, and sketch of Mount d'Ely, in Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, pp. 362, 377.

[2] Lord Stanley's *Correa*, pp. 312-319.

[3] *Merchant Shipping*, vol. ii, p. 40.

[4] Lord Stanley's *Correa*, p. 331.

of mutilation and lingering death by the American Indians. The next places visited were Cochim, where a factor was appointed, and Coulam ; after which, the fleet that had been hastily equipped by the natives at Calicut with the object of avenging the cruelties lately practised upon them, was successfully fought by the Portuguese, who made their way to Cananor : and strict regulations having been appointed for the safety and maintenance of the little factory established at this latter port under command of Vincente Sodré, the fleet set sail for Portugal on the 28th of December, 1502, and Vasco da Gama reached Lisbon, in completion of his second voyage, on the 1st of September, 1503.

Of this second voyage of Vasco da Gama, the simple narrative in the manuscript from which I have already quoted affords some useful names and dates. The translation of the paragraphs relative to this event is as follows :—

"DOM VASCO DA GAMA, ADMIRAL OF INDIA, 1502.

"Dom Vasco da Gama, chief captain of fifteen[1] ships, set out on the 10th of February for the second time. Captains, Dom Luiz Coutinho Ramiro, Gil F[e]r-

[1] A marginal note says :—" 15 sail, and afterwards there were five more, because they could not go together ; the 15 on the 10th of February, the 5 on the 1st of April.

"Another account states that the chief captain, D. Vasco da Gama, Admiral of India, set out with 20 sail and these captains, namely—Vicente Sodré, uncle of the Admiral, the brother of his mother (lost) ; Braz Sodré, his brother (lost) ; Alvaro de Atayde,

de]z de Sousa, Alvaro de Attayde, Vicente Sodré, [illegible] Sodré, Gil Matoso, Diogo F[e]r[nande]z Correa, [illegible]ıçisco da Cunha, Pedr' Affonço de Aguiar, Ruy de [illegible]anheda, Antonio de Campo, Loppo Mendes de [illegible]oncellos; and of the *caravellas* Fernão Ro[dr]i-[illegible]]z Badarças, João Lopes Perestrelo, Antonio [illegible]r[nande]z, Thomas de Cremona, João de Bona-[illegible]ia, Italians, Loppo Dias; and in all there were [illegible]en vessels *(embarcações)*, for of the *Caravelas* [illegible]e went as chief captain Dom Estevão da Gama; [illegible]et out on the 10th[1] of April, and there remained [illegible]hief captain of the sea Vicente Sodré, who was

[illegible]tive of Algarve; Fernão Ro[dr]i[gue]z, Badarças, Antonio [illegible]ndez, D. Luis Coutinho Ramiro, Francisco da Cunha, from *Terceiras* Islands; João Lopez Perestrelo, P[edr]o Affonso [illegible]iar, Gil Matozo, Rûy de Castanheda, Gil Fernandez, Diogo [illegible][nande]z Correa, Antonio do Campo; Estevão da Gama, son [illegible]es da Gama, cousin to the Admiral on the brother's side; [illegible]o Mendez de Vasconcellos, Thomas de Carmona: Loppo Dias [illegible]lo of D. Alvaro, brother of the Duke of Bargança; João de [illegible]graça, an Italian.

[illegible]e Admiral set out with the first fifteen sail on the 10th of [illegible]ary, his uncle Vicente Sodré going as chief captain of the [illegible]ve of these fifteen, with the intention of remaining away from [illegible]st of the fleet in India, for the protection of the factories [illegible]s were to be established in Cananor and Cochim, and with the [illegible]; of making his way in the summer to go and keep guard [illegible]the Straits of the Red Sea, and he carried with him the re-[illegible]n to the post of the Admiral.

[illegible]e last five of the twenty sail, because they could not be made [illegible]in time to start with the Admiral, set out on the 1st of April, [illegible]Estevão da Gama was their chief captain. Vicente Sodré, and [illegible]s Sodré, his brother, were wrecked in Curia Muria at the Cape [illegible]ardafuy, while in company of the fleet.

[1] There is here an evident error produced by reading i° *(primeiro)*, as if it were 10 *(dez)*.

wrecked with his brother on the islands of Curia and Muria, which are in the straits of the Red Sea. In this year the King of Quiloa was made tributary. The chief captain returned to the kingdom with all his ships laden."

It is not many years since there was published a curious little work, in quarto, entitled "Calcoen (Calcut). Facsimile of a Dutch Narrative of the Second Voyage of Vasco da Gama to Calicut. Printed at Antwerp, circa 1504. With Introduction and Translation, by J. Ph. Berjeau." This book, unnoticed by both biographers and bibliographers, is preserved in the library of the British Museum. Although the name of the Great Navigator to India is not mentioned in it, yet the dates, events, and places recorded agree perfectly with the second voyage of Vasco da Gama to India round the Cape of Good Hope. According to the translator, it is a valuable narrative, and supplies a number of interesting details of the voyage which will be looked for in vain in Galvão, Ramusio, Castanheda, Faria, Barros, and others.

Of the Third Voyage of Vasco da Gama, in 1524, as Viceroy of India, little need be said here, as it occurred after the death of Afonso Dalboquerque.

In 1503, on the sixth of April, Afonso Dalboquerque set out on his first voyage to India, under circumstances narrated in the first chapter of the *Commentaries*.[1] In consequence of the opposition of the natives to the Portuguese factory at Cochim, lately established by his

predecessors, which had been fostered by the Mahometans of Cairo living in Calicut, King Manoel determined to send Afonso Dalboquerque and his cousin Francisco Dalboquerque to erect a fortress in Cochim for the shelter of their fellow-countrymen and the protection of the merchandise. A fleet of six ships was fitted out, three being put under the command of Afonso, three under Francisco Dalboquerque. So eager were they to start, that Afonso left with his three before his cousin was ready, but contrary winds so retarded his progress, that Francisco Dalboquerque reached Cochim some days before him.

The King of Cochim received Francisco Dalboquerque with great demonstration of joy, and persuaded him to lose no time in falling upon the hostile force under the orders of the Çamorim, which he did with great success; and on the arrival of Afonso Dalboquerque, the united Portuguese forces attacked the neighbouring island of Repelim and drove out the lord or ruler of that place. After some demur, the King of Cochim permitted the commanders to commence the erection of a fortress made of palisades filled in with earth; in the work upon which the two cousins so eagerly laboured, that Afonso Dalboquerque had completed his portion first, and desired to sail away to Coulão to load spices, according to his instructions. But Francisco was piqued at this, and dissensions arose between them; and the portion which Afonso had completed was consecrated under the title of the "*Convent of Christ*", while Francisco entitled his "*Alboquerque*".

Afonso Dalboquerque, however, quickly proceeded

to Coulão, and began to take in his cargo; and the Çamorim did all that lay in his power to excite the king of this port against the foreigners in vain. While the lading was in progress, a fleet of thirty-nine vessels from Calicut hove in sight, whereupon Afonso slipped his cables and set out to fall upon the enemy's ships without giving them time to get ready to withstand him, but the ships chained themselves together in groups of five, and stood in to the river of Coulão, where they claimed the protection of the king, and, their cargoes being discharged, they were detained until after Afonso's departure.

After renewing the treaty of peace with this port, and confirming Antonio de Sá in his supreme office of factor, in accordance with the wishes of the native Christians, who sent a silver cross to the Portuguese King in token of their faith, Dalboquerque sailed away on the 12th of January, 1504, to meet his cousin Francisco at Cochim. But Francisco had already departed for Cananor, and Afonso, who delayed a little at Cochim to fill up his cargoes, caught up with him at Calicut, and the two sailed away in company to Cananor, intending to keep together for the return voyage.

The impatience of Afonso, however, and the tardy movements of Francisco, were ill-suited to each other, so Afonso left him on the 25th of January and steered straight across the Indian Ocean for Moçambique, and on reaching it, made his way for the Cape of Good Hope. Want of water forced the ships to put in for water at S. Bras, where Afonso's boat was lost. Here was found a letter sealed up and wrapped in a piece of

waxed cloth, relating that Antonio de Saldanha had visited the spot in the previous October. The Cape was doubled on the return journey on the 18th of May, and the anchorage of Santa Maria at Cape Verde Island reached with great difficulties by reason of leakages and bad weather; and, finally, they arrived at Lisbon at the end of July, 1504, where the commander was received with much delight by the king. Francisco Dalboquerque did not complete his business in Cananor until the 5th of February, and, sailing on that day, was lost on his way home with the other two ships under his command, without anyone ever knowing where or how they perished.[1]

The manuscript of the "*Armadas*" gives these proceedings in somewhat altered form, and with some circumstantial additions :—

"AFFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE, CHIEF CAPTAIN, 1503.

"Affonço de Albuquerque,[2] Chief Captain of three vessels, set out on the 6th of April. Captains: Pero Vaz da Veiga, Duarte Paçheco Pereira the Famous.

[1] See page xxxii, note 1.

[2] The margin reads :—"Another account relates that the Captain Affonso de Albuquerque went in the ship *Sant-Iago;* Duarte Pacheco Pereira, son of João Pacheco, in the ship *Conceição;* and that the third captain was Fernam Mīz de Almada, son of Vasco de Almada, Chief Alcaide of this town, and that the Captain Pero Vaz da Veiga went on the 14th of April with Francisco Albuquerque, but was always with one or the other.

"Francisco de Albuquerque went in the ship *Rainha (Queen),* and was lost on coming back; Pero Vaz da Veiga of Monte Mór o Novo was also lost; Niculão Coelho went in the ship *Fayal*—he returned to the kingdom with the rest, and he had already served under the Admiral (Vasco da Gama) in the discovery of India."

"In this same year there went another fleet, whereof was Chief Captain Francisco de Albuquerque; he set out on the 14th of April. Captains; Nicolas Coelho, Fernão Mīz de Almada; and the first fortress that was in Cochim was then made, of wood; and there remained for Chief Captain of the sea, Duarte Paçheco, who performed so many and such signal deeds of bravery, as are written in the Chronicles; and a factory was established in Coulão. On the return home to this kingdom Francisco de Albuquerque and Pero Vaz da Veiga were lost, but the others arrived safely.

"In May of this same year there set out as Chief Captain of another fleet, Antonio de Saldanha, who with Ruy Lourenço Ravasco went out to the kingdom to cruise about for prizes at the Cape of Guardafuy; and Diogo F[e]r[nande]z Pereira, who discovered Socotoraa, was a native of Setubal; and because he was a man accustomed to the sea, he also went in the capacity of Master of his ship.

"The six ships of the first two captaincies of the Albuquerques had to carry the cargo of spiceries, and the three of the captaincy of Antonio de Saldanha had to cruise about the mouth of the Red Sea, watching for the ships of the Moors from Meca.

"Francisco de Albuquerque and Pero Vaz de Veiga were wrecked on their return voyage to the kingdom.

"Diogo Fernandez Pereira proceeded to the island of Sacotorâ, which had not yet been discovered, and there he passed the winter.

"Antonio de Saldanha, on his return to Portugal, in a storm which he encountered in the latitude of the

Cape of Good Hope, broke his mast; yet without it he made his way to the island of St. Elena."

The year 1504 saw another Portuguese fleet, as was now become usual, fitted out for the Indian service, of which the following entry in the MS. quoted, gives the names of the ships and captains :—

"LOPO SOARES, CHIEF CAPTAIN, 1504.

"Loppo Soares, Chief Captain of 13 ships, set out on the 22nd of April. Captains: Pero de Mendoça, Leonel Coutinho, Tristão da Silva, Loppo Mendes de Vasconsellos, Loppo de Abreu da Ilha, Philipe de Castro, Pedro Affonso de Aguiar, Vasco da Siluejra, M^el Telles Barreto, Afonso Lopez da Costa, Vasco Carvalho, Pero Dinis de Setuval; and they left M^el Telles de Vasconsellos as Chief Captain of the Sea, who was the third Chief Captain of the Sea of India.

"Pedro Affonso de Aguiar received some damage from a tempest, by reason of his collision with the ship of Affonso Lopes da Costa."

P. Barreto de Resende, in his MS. (Sl. 197), gives a longer account of the doings of these early fleets.

In the following year, we find the celebrated, but unfortunate, Dom Francisco de Almeida, the immediate predecessor of Afonso Dalboquerque, was dispatched, under the following circumstances, as briefly narrated in the "*Armadas*".

"DOM FRANCISCO DE ALMEIDA, VICEROY, 1505.

"Dom Françisco de Almeyda, first Governor and Chief Captain of 14 ships and six *caravelas*, set out on

the 25th of March. Captains: Dom Ferní odo de Eça, Lourenço de Brito, Dom Alvaro de Noronha, Pero F[e]rr[eir]a, Manoel Peçanha, Fernão Soares, Antão G[onça]l[ve]z, Diogo Correa, Ruy Freire, Vasco Gomes de Abreu, João da Nova, Lopo de Goes Henrriques, Bastião de Souza, Dioguo Serrão. Pero F[e]rr[eir]a and Loppo Sanches were lost, and there was, as Chief Captain of the Sea, Dom Lourenço de Almeyda, the Viceroy's son.

"In the *caravelas* there were João Serrão, Alonso Bermundes, a Castilian *fidalgo*, Loppo Chanoca, Gonçalo de Payva, Antão Vaz, Lucas de Afonsequa, João Homem, a Cavalier. In this year was built the fortress of Quiloa, to which was given the name of *Sanctiago*, whereof the first captain was Pero F[e]rr[eir]a. And another fortress was built in Angediva, to which was given the name of *Sancta Christinha*, whereof the first captain was Manoel Peçanha. In this same year was built the fortress of Canonor of stone, whereof the first captain was Lourenço de Brito, and it was called *São Angelo*. And when these fortresses had been finished the Governor received the title of Viceroy.[1]

[1] The marginal note here is as follows:—Another relation. Dom Francisco de Almeida in the ship *Jesus*; Vasco Gomes de Abreu in *S. Gabriel*; Pedro Ferreira Fogaça in the ship *Bella*; João da Nova in the *Flor-de-la-Mar*; Ruy Freire, Fernão Soares, Sebastião de Sousa, Antão Gonçalvez (*Alcaide* of Cezimbra), Diogo Correa, Lopo de D's (Captain and Pilot), João Serram, D. Fernando de Sâ of Campo Mayor, Alonso Bermundes (a Castilian *fidalgo*), Lopo Sanches, Gonçalo de Paiva, Lucas da Fonseca, Lopo Chanoca, João Homem, Gonçalo Vaz de Goes, Antam Vaz. The first 12 of

"In this same year there set out another fleet[1] on the 18th of May, of which there went as Chief Captain of six ships Pero da Nhaya. Captains; Pero Barreto de Magalhães, Françisco da Nhaya, João Leite, João de Queiros, and Manoel Fernandez; and established a fortress and a factory-house in Sofalla, of which Pero da Nhaya was the First Captain.

the ships of this fleet had to return with the cargo of spiceries, and the rest to remain in the Indian fleet.

"Forty leagues on this side of the Line, the ship *Bella*, Captain Pedro Ferreira, sprang so large a leak that, not being able to stop it, she went to the bottom; but the people, and a great part of the cargo which was on deck, were saved, all being divided among the other ships.

"Lopo Sancho was caught in a tempest, and his ship began to leak, and because the leak could not be stopped, they ran her aground 40 leagues from Cape das Correntes, thus saving the people and timbers, whereof they made a *caravela*, which was afterwards lost."

[1] The marginal note here reads:—"6 sail on the 18th of May, Chief Captain Pero de Anhaya. Francisco de Anhaya in the ship *S. João*, etc. Three of these sail were to pass over to India to bring the cargo of spiceries, and the other three had to remain in charge of the coast of Sofalla, where Pero de Anhaia was to erect a fortress

"Successes—Francisco de Anhaia, on his course along the coast of Sofalla as far as Quiloa, lost his vessel at Moçambique, when he desired to careen her *(querendo tiralo a monte)*.

"Pedro Barreto de Magalhães, on departing from Sofalla, lost the boat with the coffer of cash for the pepper cargo, and with it some of his men; and, on going out over the bar of Quiloa, lost his ship.

"João Leite, going out in a *proa* to catch fish, fell into the sea and was drowned.

"João de Queiros, wishing to take in water 60 leagues this side of Cape das Correntes, was murdered by the Cafres, with the master and pilot, and nearly all who were with him in the boat."

"Of these six sail, three had to go to India, and three to proceed to build the fortress of Sophalla.

"On the 8th of September, in the same year,[1] there set out Cide Barbudo and Pero Caresma to survey the land of the Cape of Good Hope, and discover if there were therein any men belonging to ships that had been lost. Of the ships of this fleet six returned with a cargo to the kingdom [of Portugal], and in them the Viceroy sent to the king an elephant, which was the first that ever came to this kingdom.[2] Another account calls Cide Barbudo—Cide Barboza."

There appears to be little difficulty in reconciling these statements with that of *Correa* and the *Commentaries*,[3] where it is expressly recorded that, in 1505 a great fleet was fitted out under the advice of Vasco da Gama, and in consequence of Afonso Dalboquerque's representation to the king, Tristão da Cunha[4] had been appointed Governor of India for three years; but the sudden attack of blindness which fell upon the newly-appointed Governor prevented his voyage, which

[1] The marginal note here reads :—"A°. 1505. Two sail in September to explore the land of. the Cape of Good Hope as far as Sofalla, and part of those islands, to see if they could obtain information of Francisco de Albuquerque and Pero de Mendoça, who had disappeared in those latitudes."

[2] In this respect Portugal was far behind England, for Matthew Paris relates, under the year 1255:—"Missus est in Angliam quidam elephas, quem rex Francorum pro magno munere dedit regi Angliæ, cum in partibus esset Gallicanis. Nec credimus illium unquam visum fuisse in Anglia."—*Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, Ed. Madden, iii, 344. Before this, too, the Sultan had sent to the Emperor of Germany in 1229 an elephant.—*Ib.*, ii, 314.

[3] Vol. i, Chapter vii. [4] Lord Stanley's *Correa*, p. 379.

fell to the lot of D. Francisco Dalmeida. "The rediscovery of the route to India", says Mr. Lindsay, in respect of this voyage of this Viceroy,[1] "by way of the Cape of Good Hope, proved an immense source of wealth to Portugal. The profits of her merchants on the products of the East were enormous, and for many years, as regarded the rest of Europe, this trade was kept a close monopoly. Lisbon then became the *entrepôt*, which the Italian republics had so long held, for the spices and other produce of India; and the palaces of her traders with that country, which still adorn, even amid their decay, and, in too many instances, their ruins, the banks of the Tagus, testify to the wealth of their original owners and occupants."

The tragic death of D. Francisco Dalmeida on the 1st of March, 1510, at the *Aguada de Saldanha*, has been more than once alluded to in these *Commentaries*, and some valuable notes in illustration of his biography, character, and policy in the East, may be read in Lord Stanley's Preface to Correa's *Voyages of Vasco da Gama*. As the *Commentaries* teach us, he appears to have exhibited (and perhaps with some reason) no slight amount of impatience and indignation at being superseded by Dalboquerque very shortly after his successful engagement with the fleet of the Rumes, or Turks, that is, the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, in conjunction with that of the Kings of India in 1508, an event which may be read of at length in the principal works on Indian history that refer to the period.[2]

[1] Vol. ii page 44.

[2] See also an excellent biographical notice of this Viceroy by Ferd. Denis, in Hoeffer's *Nouv. Biogr. Univers.*, vol. i, p. 185.

During the Viceroyalty of Dalmeida, yearly expeditions took place, in consolidation of the Portuguese intercourse with their newly established Indian colonies. A fleet was sent in 1506, under Tristão da Cunha and Afonso Dalboquerque as joint Chief Captains. An independent notice of this voyage is thus given in the manuscript of the *Armados.*

"TRISTÃO DA CUNHA AND AFFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE, CHIEF CAPTAINS, 1506.

"Tristão[1] da Cunha, and Affonso de Albuquerque, Chief Captains of 16 ships, set out on the 6th of

[1] Marginal notes. "16 sail on the 6th of March, whereof not one, in this year, owing to various circumstances, passed over to India."

"Another account reads:—Tristão da Cunha, and Affonso de Albuquerque, Chief Captains, set out on the 6th of March with 16 sail, whereof were Captains, Tristão da Cunha in the ship *Espirito S^to.*, Aluaro Tellez Baretto in *S. Vicente*, João Gomes de Abreu in the *Luz* (lost), Lionel Continho in the *Leitoa Nova* (Sucking Pig), Rûy Pereira, Rûy Dias Pereira, Job Queimado, Alvaro Fernandez, a cavalier from Alvito, João da Veiga, the foster brother of Tristão da Cunha, Tristão Roiz, page of the King's Chamber, Tristão Alvarez, Affonso de Albuquerque in *Flor-de-la-Mar*, Francisco de Tavora in *Rey Grande*, Manoel Tellez Barreto in *Rey Pequeno*, Afonso Lopes da Costa in the *S. Jorge Taforea* (transport), Antonio do Campo in the *Caravela Espirito S^to.*

"Of the first eleven ships which were to carry the cargoes of spiceries Tristão da Cunha was the Chief Captain; of the last five Affonso Dalbuquerque was the Chief Captain, with which he was to remain in position of a fleet on the coast of Arabia and mouth of the Red Sea Straits; with instructions that both these fleets, united into one body, should make for the island of Socotorá, and take a fortress from the Moors who were therein; and whereas this fortress did not turn out to be of the nature which our people expected it to be, namely that they could defend them-

March, 1506. Captains: Aluaro Telles Barreto, Job Queimado, João Gomez de Abreu, Leonel Continho, João Roïz Pereira, Tristão Alueres, João da Veiga, Aluaro Fernandez, Tristão Roïz. Aluaro Telles sailed in such a course as to fetch the Island of São Lourenço on the outer coast, mistaking this for the Cape of Guardafuy. João Gomez died on the voyage, and his ship was lost at Patê, which is an island on the coast of Melinde.

"In this voyage, Tristão da Cunha discovered the islands to which he gave his name, and thus they are called at the present day; and in this same year was constructed the fortress of Cochim, of stone, whereof the first Captain was Don Aluaro de Noronha, and it was called *Sancta Cruz.*

"By this fleet was built the fortress of Sacotorá, to which was given the name of *Sancthome,* of which Dom Affonso de Noronha was the first Captain; and the first monastery was made of the Order of São Fran-

selves in it, they built one of timber which they carried from the kingdom ready cut.

"Successes of this fleet. Alvaro Tellez, outside the Island of S. Lourenço, made his way to the Island of Samatra, thinking it was the Cape of Guardafuy.

"João Gomes de Abreu died on land in the Island of S. Lorenço, of illness, and his ship was lost in a creek close to Pate, the people saving themselves in another one. The rest of the sail, as well those of the Captaincy of Afonso Dalboquerque as also those of Tristão da Cunha, wintered; which Tristão da Cunha, on the tack from Brasil to the Cape of Good Hope, discovered the Islands which they now call after his name.

"Job Queimado, on his return journey to Portugal, was taken by the French."

cisco that was ever in India, and of it Frey Antonio de Loureiro was Guardian.

"The Chief Captain Tristão da Cunha made this fortress, and there Affonso de Albuquerque took leave of him, with five ships to make war upon Ormus; Captain Francisco de Tavora, Manoel Telles Barreto, Afonso Lopes da Costa, Antonio do Campo.

"And in this year the Viceroy dismantled the fortress of Angediva, in accordance with the King's commands, and built in Cochim the Castle of Çima; and Afonso Dalboquerque began to build the fortress of Ormus, to which he gave the name of 'Our Lady of the Victory' (Nossa Senhora da Victoria), and because the war broke out before it was finished, no captain was appointed to it this year.

"Of this fleet, four ships returned laden to the kingdom, for the others remained in India and in the war in Ormus."

The names and dates contained in the preceding extracts relating to this voyage, must be compared by the reader with corresponding statements in the text of *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque.* In most cases the two will be found to agree; but there are, on the other hand, numerous points where discrepancies may be noted. According to the work before us, Afonso Dalboquerque's connection with India as Chief Captain commences with his advice to the King concerning the state of India in 1504. The King decided to send Tristão da Cunha in the position of Governor for three years. The fleet was ready in the following

year, when the Governor-designate fell suddenly blind; an accident which led to the substitution of Dom Francisco Dalmeida as Viceroy. It does not appear that Dalboquerque had any active part in this expedition. But in 1506, Tristão da Cunha, being by this time happily restored to sight, was despatched with a fleet of fourteen sail, under orders to winter at the Island of Socotra in case of being unable to cross over to the Indian Continent. At Socotra a fortress was to be constructed for the relief and protection of the Christian inhabitants,[1] and for the safety of the Portuguese squadron about to be employed in blockading the Red Sea.

In this naval expedition Afonso Dalboquerque was associated as Chief Captain over six ships and four hundred men, and secret instructions were given to him that on the expiration of the Viceroy's term of office he was to succeed as Governor of India. Tristão da Cunha (page 21) sets out on the 5th of April, 1506, Alfonso Dalboquerque being delayed until the following day for want of a pilot. The captains met again off Biziguiche,[2] and stand off to double the Cape of St. Augustine, during which evolution a storm breaks over the fleet, the ships are scattered for two days, and on reassembling that of Captain Job Queimado was discovered to be missing.[3] When the fleet was in the

[1] Berjeau states that in 1502, at the time of the second voyage of Vasco da Gama, the island of Socotra was mainly inhabited by Greek Christians.

[2] Perhaps Bissagot's Island, between Bathurst and Sierra Leone.

[3] He rejoined the fleet, however, at Moçambique (vol. i, page 28), having met with an island "sixty leagues in the sea from the

latitude of Ascension Island, the Chief Captain gave orders for the fleet to separate and rendezvous at Moçambique, the usual point of departure across the Indian Gulf. And as they were all in a fair course to clear the Cape of Good Hope, an island hitherto unknown was seen, to which, in honour of the Commander of the expedition, the name of Tristão da Cunha was given. It does not appear by these *Commentaries* that any visit was made from the ships to the land on this occasion.[1]

river of Angola"; this island, which is described as very large, thickly wooded, and uninhabited, is perhaps Pinha Island.

[1] An interesting account of the present condition of this desolate island occurs in a description by Sir Wyville Thomson of some events observed by him during the voyage of the *Challenger*. As this is probably the latest recorded notice, it is worth while referring to it in this place:—"The sixteen or seventeen families who reside on the Island of Tristan da Cunha, have suffered so much from violent gales, that they now build their cottages of blocks of stone—a sort of soft volcanic tufa—of four or five feet square, in order to enable them to withstand these storms. The wind is sometimes so violent that these blocks, when being brought down from the quarry, are lifted bodily by the wind. As there is no mortar on the island, all the stones are dove-tailed into each other, and it is curious to see the people building these cottages. Very frequently wrecks occur on the island, and a number of large spars are picked up on the shore as the remains of lost vessels. The people take two or three of these spars, and, laying them up against the wall at a low angle, carefully grease them, and, by a method known to have been used in Assyria and ancient Egypt, they gradually move on rollers and slide up these blocks to the top of the wall, when they are fixed in their places. Tristan da Cunha is one of a little group of three islands, one of which is called Nightingale Island. It is covered with tussack grass seven, eight, or nine feet in height; and from the top of these tussacks grass springs about an inch and a half in height. The tussack grass becomes matted so as to form a very dense jungle, through which it is difficult to crush. Long avenues run between the tus-

Shortly afterwards, Moçambique was reached by Afonso Dalboquerque and Francisco de Tavora, the Chief Captain arriving a few days later on, with the remainder of the ships except that of Alvaro Mendez, who appears to have rounded Madagascar on the outer coast, contrary to the usual Portuguese navigation, and stood over to Melinde. At this point in the his-

sacks, covered with slippery wet clay, and on the ground are multitudes of penguins. These birds have millions of nests under the long grass, they keep the ground constantly wet, and it has the strongest possible smell of ammonia. It is impossible to pass a single yard along these avenues without crushing the young birds or the nests, while the old penguins all around make the most frightful din, and jag the leg of the traveller, their long sharp beaks drawing blood at every stroke. These penguins are a most extraordinary sight. They are perfectly tame, in the first place, because they do not know any reason for fear from proximity to man; and, secondly, because they have really no means of escape. They stand from one and half to two and a half feet in height. Their nests are little flat clay erections, about two inches in height. The bird lays one, sometimes two eggs, and sits on the nest upright. It is a singular sight to see the birds sitting on their eggs in the space between the tussacks. Some six or eight acres are covered with them. At certain times perhaps a thousand of these penguins come out from the various lanes and walk down to the sea. When they reach to the water they throw themselves down and squattle into it. The moment they are in the water they act just as if they were fishes. The grey groove in their backs is occasionally seen above the surface, but it is scarcely possible to imagine that they are birds—they look just like grey mullets. Having fished for a while, they return to their nests by a regular path, which is beaten as flat as a sheep walk. The whole is carried out by a regular system, the birds going to the sea by one path and returning by another. Sometimes they stand and have a talk for a while, apparently a regular chattering going on; then all of a sudden they stand at attention, and each proceeds to its particular nest."

tory of the expedition, it appears that Tristão da Cunha, persuaded by the information obtained by Rui Pereira (who had touched at the harbour of Tananá in Madagascar, and carried with him two natives to the rendezvous), determined to prosecute the exploration of the coast of that island. A descent was consequently planned upon a densely peopled island in the Mozambique channel—not identified by the writer of the *Commentaries*—the people put to the sword, and the place sacked.

After a delay of three days, spent in taking in water and supplies, Tristão da Cunha made an ineffectual attempt to continue his survey of the northern coast of Madagascar, and returned to the African coast at Çadæ, where he fell upon the inhabitants, according to his wont, and dispersed them. The policy of uncertainty and delay, which appears to have actuated the Chief Captain at this period, was very much opposed to the fiery and impatient spirit of Afonso Dalboquerque, who remonstrated with his superior officer in very decided tones, and eventually obtained permission to make his way to Socotra, and take his appointed fleet with him. On his way, he had hardly passed the Comoro Islands, when he heard of the wreck of Rui Pereira on a bank, and the narrow escape of Tristão da Cunha from the same fate. In consequence of this disaster, Dalboquerque rejoined his Chief Captain and returned with him to Moçambique, where they found João da Nova, the captain of the *Flor-de-la-Mar* on the homeward voyage,[1] who had put into

[1] See page xxx, note.

that port having sprung a leak at the step of the mast. It was found necessary to discharge the cargo of this ship (which was afterwards repaired and formed one of the fleet left with Dalboquerque) into a native vessel, that was forthwith dispatched home under command of Antonio de Saldanha, who on this voyage discovered the ill-fated watering place of Saldanha (now Saldanha Bay), where, in 1510, the Viceroy Dom Francisco Dalmeida was murdered by the inhabitants. Pedro Barreto de Resende adds, in his account of this event, somewhat mournfully, that the bones of the unfortunate Dalmeida are reported to be lying there to this day.

The reunited fleet proceeded to Melinde, and the friendly king was visited by the Chief Captain; the native potentate took advantage of the opportunity afforded him to request that the Portuguese forces might be directed against his neighbouring enemies the Kings of Mombaça and Angoja. This resulted in the attack, pillage, and destruction by fire of the latter city, and after some parley, a similar fate befell the city of Braboa, a little further on upon the same coast. At the fight which took place at this latter city Tristão da Cunha was wounded in the leg by an arrow, and in pursuance of his desire Afonso Dalboquerque dubbed him a knight, "in that place where the Moors had shed his blood".[1] After this episode, the fleet set sail and steered along the coast in a northerly direction, intending to touch at Magadaxo in Zanguebar; but in consequence of the advice of Afonso Lopez Bura-

[1] Perhaps in remembrance of the knighting of the sons of King João I, at the attack of Ceuta in 1415.—See above, page v.

quinha, the chief pilot, who had practical experience of the dangers attending the navigation of that locality, the course was altered, and the whole fleet stood in and anchored off Çoco, the principal port of Socotra. On arrival, it was found that a very strong fortress had been erected by the natives, who refused all overtures on the part of the fleet to render it up quietly. An attack was therefore organized, which resulted in the successful escalade of the stronghold, after seven hours' fighting, by Tristão da Cunha, who experienced an obstinate resistance on the part of the defenders, their resolute defence bringing about the complete destruction of all of their number except one. This individual was a pilot who gave Afonso Dalboquerque a Chart "of the kingdom of Ormuz" which had been made by another pilot named Omar. The mosque was consecrated to the religion of the conquerors on the following day, and dedicated to "Our Lady of the Victory"; the native Christians[1] encouraged and instructed by a priest who accompanied the fleet; and the Portuguese fortress completed and dedicated to St. Michael, Dom Afonso de Noronha being appointed Captain in charge.

The time was now approaching when Tristão da Cunha and Afonso Dalboquerque were to take separate

[1] Although there are now no traces of the Greek Christianity which then prevailed in the island of Socotra, a valuable account of it may be read in Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd Edition, vol. ii, pp. 400-403. Degenerate forms of certain Christian ceremonies were there found side by side with heathen practices as late as the middle of the seventeenth century.

action in the Indian Seas. The former arranged the disposition of the forces, by committing to Afonso the chief captaincy of six well provided ships.

1. The *Cirne*, Flagship of the Chief Captain.
2. The *Rey Grande*, Captain Francisco de Tavora.
3. The *Rey Pequeno*, Captain Manuel Telez.
4. The *Taforea*, or Transport, Captain Afonso Lopes da Costa.
5. A Small Ship, Captain Antonio do Campo.
6. The *Flor-de-la-Mar*,[1] Captain João da Nova.[2]

This last ship, the *Flor-de-la-Mar*, was temporarily added to the fleet, pending the advent of the Comendador Ruy Soares, on whose arrival João da Nova was to sail away to India with the latest news of Afonso Dalboquerque's doings.

Having thus arranged the fleet, Tristão da Cunha shaped his course for India, with four vessels, on the 18th of August, 1507, and having arrived and laden his squadron with a suitable cargo, sailed away on the homeward voyage for Portugal.

Although the next naval expedition sent out from the mother kingdom did not in any way meet those of Tristão da Cunha or Afonso Dalboquerque, it is here fitting to turn to, and record, the mission of Chief Captain Jorge de Mello Pereira, whose fleet sailed in the year 1507, according to the following notice in the *Armadas da India.*

[1] Compare this list with that given on page xxxiv, note.

[2] "L'éternel compétiteur d'Albuquerque." *Ferd. Denis*, in Hoefer's *Nouv. Biogr. Univ.* s.v. *Almeida.*

"JORGE DE MELLO PEREIRA, CHIEF CAPTAIN, WITH 12 SHIPS, IN FOUR CAPTAINCIES, 1507.

"Jorge de Mello Pereira, Chief Captain, set out on the 12th, 13th, 15th and 20th of April. Captains Henrrique Nunes de Leão, Phelipe de Crasto, Chief Captain; Jorge de Crasto, Fernão Soares, Chief Captain; Ruy da Cunha, Gonçalo Carneiro, Vasco Gomes de Abreu, Chief Captain; Ruy de Brito Patalym, Ruy de Valadares, Loppo Crabr[a], Martym Coelho, Diogo de Mello; all these to build the fortress of Moçambique, whereof Vasco Gomez remained to be Captain.

While all these ships were wintering in Moçambique, the crews built the first fortress of stone and mortar, which they called *S. Gabriel*, the hospital, and church; and only Fernão Soares sailed away thence during the April monsoon, to India; and Henrrique Nunes de Leão returned thence to the Kingdom with the cargo of the ship *Leitoa*, which was lost at night at the island of Tristão da Cunha.[1]"

[1] Another account says:—"There set out 12 ships in four captaincies, etc.: Jorge de Mello Pereira, chief captain, in the ship *Belem;* Enrique Nunes de Leam, in *S. Antonio;* Fernão Soarez, chief captain; Rûy da Cunha, in *S. Gabriel;* Gonçalo Carneiro; Filippe de Castro, chief captain; Jorge de Castro, his brother; Vasco Gomes de Abreu, chief captain; Loppo Cabreira; Pedro Lourenço; Rûy Gonçalves de Valadares, in *S. Simam;* João Chanoca.

"The seven ships of the first three Captaincies had to carry the cargo of spiceries.

"The five of the last went as a guard over that coast of Melinde, whose chief captain, Vasco Gomes de Abreu, had to remain as Captain of Sofalla.

"Successes.—Of all these ships, not one passed this year to

The course of events here reverts to the text of the *Commentaries*, from which it will be easily perceived that now that Tristão da Cunha had sailed away to India, Afonso Dalboquerque was in the position of supreme head of Portuguese affairs on the Eastern Coast of Africa, and after settling the affairs of the land he prepared his ships and set out with the intention of cruising about to intercept the ships coming from India to pass into the Red Sea. A council was held under his direction, wherein it was decided that the fleet should steer for the Straits of Ormuz, take Mascate, and endeavour to capture any ships on their voyage from the African ports within the Red Sea bound for Dio, Cambaya, or the Malabar Coast.

On the 10th of August,—only ten days after the departure of Tristão da Cunha for shores further east,—the little squadron of six Portuguese ships sailed out of the port of Çoco, taking a northerly course, by way of Fartak and Zafār, in hopes of sighting the Bay of Curia Muria.[1] Want of necessary provisions compelled the commander to make for the Straits of Ormuz at the gates of the Persian Gulf, and put in at Kalhāt[2] on the

India, and in order to get rid of the confusion which was like to arise out of this upon those who were therein, they agreed to send Rûy Soares, Commendador of Rhodes, with a message to the Viceroy, which voyage he undertook, although it was very perilous. Aurrique Nunes de Leam returned from Moçambique to Portugal with the lading of the ship *Leitoa*, which could not proceed on account of its leaky condition."

[1] Some writers have sought to identify the Kuria Muria Islands with the Male and Female Islands described by Marco Polo.—See Col. Yule's 2nd Edition, vol. ii, p. 397.

[2] The *Calatu* of Marco Polo, ii, 448.

Arabian coast. The inhabitants of this city so readily agreed to all that was demanded of them, that it escaped the destruction which had been visited upon other less fortunate places; and, after re-victualling his fleet, Afonso Dalboquerque sailed away, intending to make for *Icce*, a site which he found to have been marked down in Omar's chart as distant five leagues from Calayate. This turned out to be a river, so the fleet proceeded to Curiate, a little below Mascate,[1] and burned it, and then to Mascate, where another scene in the fiery drama which proclaimed the progress of the destroyer was enacted; the operations of the Portuguese at this place being encouraged by the miraculous egress of the sapping party from the ruins of the mosque, which came down upon them just as they were about to quit it after cutting the supports.

At this period of their Arabian adventures, João da Nova, who throughout his career systematically opposed his superior officer, determined to sail away to India without waiting for Ruy Soares, *Commendador [of Rhodes]*. But Afonso Dalboquerque did not lack the voluntary information of those who were likely to be well-informed on the subject, and soon learned that it was the general opinion of all his captains that he was undertaking too much in attempting to besiege Ormuz by sea with so limited a number of ships.

The expedition next came in front of Soar, and stood in and anchored about a mile and a half from shore, but the readiness shown by the rulers of the city in accepting and admitting the demands made by

[1] See Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd Edition, vol. ii, p. 448.

Afonso Dalboquerque upon the place, saved their town from imminent destruction by burning and the inhabitants from slaughter.

The next place visited by the conqueror was Orfação, or Corfacam, where, in the course of the proceedings consequent upon the defence of the place, a brutal mutilation of the "old Moors who were not fit for work" was perpetrated, in keeping with the cruel conduct of Vasco da Gama at Calicut during his second voyage in 1502, to which the attention of the reader has already been directed. Eventually the city of Orfação was fired, and the victorious fleet, setting sail in the midst of a violent thunderstorm, reached Ras Mussendom, where news was brought to Afonso Dalboquerque that "the King of Ormuz was already aware of his approach and had a large fleet to fight with him, and in the city many soldiers and many munitions of war".

This information resulted in shortening sail, with a view to a very cautious approach; but, notwithstanding this manœuvre, the fleet hove in sight of the island of Ormuz[1] on the following day, the little islands of Lārek and Kishm, or Larequa and Queixome as they are called in the narrative, being also within view of the little fleet of foreign adventurers. Among the vessels of war in the harbour of Ormuz, which were detained by the King, was the *Meri*, of Cambaya,—a ship of about one thousand tons burden.

The king, however, who had doubtless heard of the

[1] Some valuable notes on the situation of *Hormos* in Col. Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii, 450; View, in Correa's *Lendas*, Lisbon Acad. Ed., tom. ii, p. 439.

ruthless conduct of his visitors on former occasions, appears to have been by no means desirous of hazarding a conflict of naval power, and dispatched an Armenian Moor, named Cogebeiram, to negotiate terms of peace with Afonso Dalboquerque; but the terms offered by that spirited Captain were too severe for the king's acceptance, and after a short space of time, consumed in fruitless attempts at an adjustment, mutual preparations for hostilities were commenced. The Portuguese ships formed a semicircle outside the crowded body of native shipping in the harbour, and laying out cables, buoyed up at short intervals, prevented the enemy from breaking away and getting to sea. The *Meri* was grappled with and boarded, her crew overpowered and slaughtered, and her guns turned against the city itself, by Jorge Barreto, who took the ship.

The panic which seized the native seamen at this juncture was not quelled even by the presence among them of the Chief of their City—Cogeatar—who was compelled to quit his barge, and only saved his life by throwing himself into the sea close to the houses, when the Portuguese were on the point of capturing him. The consternation of the people on shore increased every moment, the carnage was now at its height, and was followed up in the way which appears to have become by this time, and for many years afterwards, almost conventional in the Indian Seas. "They[1] returned to the place where Afonso Dalboquerque was, and when all were reunited, they returned again to the

[1] Vol. i, p. 117.

battle on the sea with the Moors who were swimming, and with lance-thrusts and cuts they killed so many of them, that, although, as they were tired of slaughter and unable to accomplish their whole purpose, some managed to escape, yet the sea was so tinged with blood that it was a fearful thing to look at. The cabin-boys and ships' servants, also, on their part, did nothing but thrust the bodies under water with grappling-hooks, and tear out their bowels in such a manner that the slaughter was great among them; and there was one cabin-boy who alone put to death eighty Moors."

The only defence which could have protected the city of Ormuz against the foreigners was thus completely destroyed by an engagement which had lasted for eight hours, during which "there was not a single shot fired that did not send a ship to the bottom and put many men to death".[1] The dismantled and disabled ships were set on fire and cut adrift, and floating out to sea carried destruction with them in their unguided courses The victorious Afonso Dalboquerque landed, and set fire to the suburbs, thus filling up to the brim the ruin and desolation he had brought upon the city. Cogeatar, the Minister of Ormuz, lost no time in endeavouring to stay the hand of the infidel Franks, and sent two Moors (who had but recently arrived in Ormuz from Oran with news of a fleet sent

[1] It must not, however, be forgotten that many bodies were found afterwards mortally wounded by the arrows of their fellow men; a circumstance considered miraculous by the Portuguese, who declared the arrows were turned in their flight, but probably the result of adverse wind, or bad or distant aim.

from Portugal to Turkey under command of the Prior of Crato, as Chief Captain) to announce his unconditional surrender.

After some discussion, the amount of indemnity and of annual tribute was settled, a space within the boundary of the city was demanded for a Portuguese fortress, the kingdom formally restored to the king and his chief Cogeatar—who had shown a desire to retire to Calayate, his native place—and a treaty drawn up, in duplicate (Arabic and Persian), copies of which were sent home. On the 10th of October, the Portuguese flag was carried in procession through Ormuz, and planted on the loftiest tower of the Royal Palace.

All now seemed to be in good order; but Afonso Dalboquerque's desire of constructing a stronghold which should defy native treachery and all the advantages which superior numbers could wield against the resolute defence of a mere handful of men at bay within it, gave Cogeatar an opportunity of rousing his countrymen once more against their new masters. Nabandé or Nobend, was offered as a better site than any which the island of Ormuz could afford. This was found on examination to be unsuitable; another place, nearer to Ormuz,—Turumbaque—proved equally unfit, and eventually Afonso Dalboquerque determined to build his castle on the point of Moroo, in Ormuz itself, looking towards the mainland, the place occupied by the square fortification in the plan given at page 112.

Under native labour and Portuguese superintend-

ence, the work of construction rapidly progressed; the principal portal of the tower being cased with three stone anchors taken out of the *Meri*, a lasting memorial of the victory of the fleet, and of the disgrace of the defenders of the city. An attempt was made to encourage the merchants to trade with the ships, the ships themselves were careened and refitted one by one, and a *fusta* of eighteen banks of oars built for future service in the Red Sea. Meanwhile an Arab sheikh, Ismael, had arrived, to receive the yearly tribute paid to him by the King of Ormuz; and the matter having been reported to Afonso Dalboquerque, he threatened to deprive the king of his authority over the city if ever he should pay any future tribute to this or any other superior lord except only to the King of Portugal.

At this period of the Portuguese occupation of Ormuz, when Afonso Dalboquerque was contemplating an expedition to the Red Sea, an incident occurred which, although small in itself, led eventually to the abandonment of the hardly-won position. It arose in this way. Out of a feeling of magnanimity and a desire to let nothing delay the completion of the fortress, the Portuguese commander consented to restore the *Meri*, and some of the captives, to the king and Cogeatar. This liberal proceeding emboldened the captain of a merchant ship from Onor (Honowar), who had come into the port of Ormuz just before the engagement trusting to the security of a pass procured from Dom Lorenço Dalmeida, son of Dom Francisco Dalmeida the Viceroy, to beg restitution, for on the

arrival of the hostile fleet Cogeatar had seized the Onor ship, which was discharging her freight, and converted her into a vessel of war. This was granted, a safe pass given to the captain to return to Onor, and a letter written by Afonso Dalboquerque to the Viceroy entrusted to his care, in which was set forth the whole Portuguese policy and the urgent need of reinforcements.

But there was a traitor in the fleet; for no sooner had Antonio do Campo, captain of one of the ships, obtained an idea of the contents of the communication thus made to the Viceroy, than Cogeatar was apprised of the information so given. Not content with this treachery, the other captains of the fleet were purposely irritated by the artful dissemination of matters prejudicial to their interest, which were falsely alleged to be proposed in this letter. This incensed them against their commander, and it was not long before they found opportunities to comport themselves with insubordination, and even to hold seditious meetings in which they discussed the lucrative advantages which they would obtain by a speedy abandonment of the works at Ormuz and a passage to India. The division of the prize money was another fruitful source of contention, and it was not until the extreme measure of depriving Francisco de Tavora of his captaincy and giving the command of his ship to another, that Afonso Dalboquerque, who had acted throughout this critical affair with great and exemplary forbearance, was able to regain some show of authority and command over his men.

In the midst of these internal dissensions four mariners deserted, and revealed to the willing ears of Cogeatar the disorder that was prevalent in the hostile ranks. This resulted in an endeavour on the part of that high functionary to retard the progress of the building by which the subjection of the natives would have been completed; and it was not long before the threatening aspect of affairs warned Afonso Dalboquerque to lose no time in withdrawing the persons employed upon that work to the ships, previous to a declaration of war against the king of Ormuz for not restoring the four fugitives whose surrender had been demanded in vain.

The successful accomplishment of the fortress of Ormuz was now a matter of great uncertainty. On the 13th of November 1507, the depositions of the disaffected captains were drawn up, in which it was alleged that Afonso Dalboquerque had neglected the fortress of Socotra, and omitted the opportunity of sending the *Flor-de-la-Mar* to India. On the 5th of January in the following year, a remonstrance signed by all the captains was handed to the commander, wherein they declared their intention of no longer co-operating with him in the siege. But Afonso Dalboquerque was unwilling to desist from his cherished scheme without a conflict. Skirmishes took place at the fresh-water tanks of Turumbaque, and at the watering place on the Island of Queixome or Kishm; the native forces were routed; and a *parao*, filled with the corpses of the principal Moors who had been killed in action, was sent drifting to shore towards the city, where the lamentations of the people were, without

doubt, not unmixed with the horrible remembrance of the somewhat similar fate which had been meted out to the men of Calicut by a previous expedition from the same European nation.

It was not long after this wanton act of inhumanity had been perpetrated, before a large fleet was sighted off the island of Lara, and the three ships commanded by Antonio do Campo, Afonso Lopez da Costa, and Manuel Telez, were ordered to fall upon the Moorish vessels. The enemy, who turned out to be in great force—no less than four thousand men, in sixty ships under command of Xaquear—had been posted under orders from Cogeatar to dispute the possession of the watering stations, but they fled at the approach of the three Portuguese ships; and these in their turn took advantage of the opportunity, when they were not near the immediate observation of Afonso Dalboquerque, and sailed away for India, deserting their companions, who were thus left in but three ships in the presence of a very superior force, and between that force and a large and fortified city which was already beginning to show signs of surrender.

For six days the decision of the Chief Captain wavered, but at length he determined to abandon his position, and sailed away to Socotra, sending an account of the circumstances to the Viceroy by João da Nova in the *Flor-de-la-Mar*, one of the few ships yet in his company. On the way to Socotra a Mecca ship richly laden was captured, and on his arrival the island garrison was revictualled, and Franciso de Tavora, was dispatched, in the last ship,

to Melinde for supplies, while Afonso Dalboquerque cruised about off the Cape of Guardafum.

At this period of the adventures of Afonso Dalboquerque, the spring months of the year 1508, a fleet was sent out from Portugal, as was now customary, to reinforce her distant colonies in the East. This was commanded by Jorge de Aguiar, and the brief record of its captains and its proceedings—as summarised in the MS. of the *Armadas da India*—introduces into the scenes in which Afonso Dalboquerque is the principal figure, several new names, and supplies some new details of information not contained in the *Commentaries*. The entry is as follows :

"JORGE DE AGUIAR, CHIEF CAPTAIN, 1508.

"Jorge de Aguiar,[1] Chief Captain of 8 ships, set out on the 9th of April. Captains Vasco Carvalho, Ruy da Cunha, João Roiz P[ereir]a, Alvaro Barreto, Tristão da Sylva, Gonçalo Mendes de Brito, Francisco Pereira Pestana. They wintered in Quiloa. These[2] eight ships for the cargo; and four small ones for the war

[1] For the Portuguese text of this passage, see page 31 of this volume.

[2] "Eight sail on the 9th April, and four more sail, others say 5. Another account is couched in this manner:—Jorge de Aguiar, chief captain, set out on the 9th of April with 13 sail, of which the captains were: Tristam da Silva; João Roiz Pereira, in the ship *Botafogo;* Vasco Carvalho; Alvaro Barreto, in the ship *Sta. Marta;* Francisco Pereira Pestana; Gonçalo Mendez de Brito; João Colaço; Diogo de Atayde ; Duarte de Lemos da Trofa, in the *Sta. Cruz;* Vasco da Silveira ; Pero Correa ; Diogo Correa, his brother.

"Of these 17 ships, the first four, whereof Diogo Lopes de

against Ormus, of which Duarte de Lemos Datrofa was chief Captain. Captains João Colaço, Gonçalo da Sylveira, Diogo de Attajde, Pero Correa, and Diogo Correa. In this same year Diogo Lopez de Siqueira, Chief *Almotaçel* of the kingdom, sailed as chief Captain of four vessels on the 5th of April to go and explore, and conquer Malaca. Captains Jeronimo Teixeira in the ship *Sta. Clara*, Gonçalo de Souza, and João Nunes. He returned with all his ships safe to the kingdom."

At the end of April, Francisco da Tavora returned to the rendezvous at Cape Guardafum, bringing to Afonso Dalboquerque two captains in ships newly arrived from Portugal, and the news that the commendador Ruy Soares (who was under orders to join Afonso Dalboquerque) had gone on to the Viceroy.

Siqueira was chief captain, went to explore the island of S. Lourenço, and not finding therein the silver, cloves, and ginger, that it was reported to contain, they passed over to explore the island of Malaca.

"Of the 13 of the captaincy of Jorge de Aguiar, eight had to carry the cargo, and with the five remaining he, Jorge de Aguiar, had to keep guard over the coasts of Ethiopia and Arabia.

"On returning from Malaca to India, the ship *Santa Clara*, Captain Jeronimo Teixeira, struck upon a bank and foundered, and Diogo Lopez appointed him sub-captain of the ship of João Nunez.

"The ship of Gonçalo de Souza was burned because she had no crew to handle her.

"Jorge de Aguiar was lost by night on the islands of Tristão da Cunha.

"Francisco Pereira Pestana wintered in Quiloa, whither he went as captain."

He also brought Fernão Gomez and a Moor, who were to undertake a journey by land across the continent of Africa through the "land of Cadamdin, a Moorish Captain who was prosecuting a war with another Captain of Prester John, for the one land is contiguous to the other", through Tambocatu (probably Timbuctoo), and thence to Arguin,[1] along the river Çanaga or Senegal—a journey which the Moor had already traversed.

Afonso Dalboquerque wintered at Socotra, repaired his ships, built a *fusta* of fourteen banks of oars, and, much to the disgust of her Captain, Francisco de Tavora, cut down the *Rey Grande*, which was too high out of the water for these stormy latitudes. In the meantime, the three fugitive ships arrived at Cochim, and their Captains laid their complaints before the Viceroy, the principal points being the Commander's neglect of reinforcing Socotra and his protracted operations before Ormuz; whereupon, at the Viceroy's order, a commission was appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the case, the text of the document being given in full, and dated on the 26th of May.

Not long after this time, the fleet[2] of Jorge de Aguiar, which has been already mentioned as setting out on

[1] A place of this name is marked on the maps of the coast between Cape Blanco and Cape Mirik, considerably to the north of the mouth of the Senegal, and therefore the route as laid down in the *Commentaries* has undergone some displacement, but we shall see further on how the travellers fared.

[2] The text of these *Commentaries* says *three* vessels—probably an error of *tres* for *treze (thirteen)*. The *text* of the *Armadas* mentions the names of fourteen captains; the *marginal note* mentions

the 9th of April, arrived. It was in this fleet that notice was sent out to the Viceroy to hand over the government of India to Afonso Dalboquerque, and to return to Portugal.

On the 15th of August, Afonso Dalboquerque set out from Socotra, not so much with the intention of renewing his attempt upon Ormuz as of observing the state of affairs, doing what he could towards the consolidation of the Portuguese power in those parts, and then rejoining the Viceroy in Cochim.

During the progress of the voyage, the fleet had a narrow escape from grounding opposite the Curia Muria Islands; but, at length, reached Calayate in safety, and lost no time in attacking the city, which made a stout defence under Xarafadin (*Sharaf Ed-Deen*), routing the defenders, sacking the place, and, finally, setting fire to the city and burning twenty-seven merchant ships that lay in the harbour. Not content with this, Afonso Dalboquerque, who appears on this occasion to have caught the spirit of Oriental cruelty, ordered the prisoners to be deprived of their ears and noses, and then he returned to his ships, "giving many thanks to Our Lord for the favour He had shown him in giving him such a city, gained without danger to our men, with so small a force."

The Commander now, for the first time, heard, from one of Cogeatar's Envoys, that the Portuguese fleet

thirteen,—that of Ruy da Cunha being omitted, although he is specially mentioned in conjunction with Fernão Soares, who does not appear to have held a captain's commission according to the *Commentaries*.

had routed the naval forces of the Mahometans, under Mirocem,—called by Camoēs Mir-Hocem[1]—and Meliquiaz—Melique Yaz—that affairs at Ormuz were in a critical state, and that his own fugitive Captains were with the Viceroy at Cochim. At the receipt of this startling intelligence the little fleet repaired to Ormuz, which was found to have been put into an improved state of defence; and, after some time spent in an angry correspondence full of fruitless complaints, recriminations and charges of little moment, Afonso Dalboquerque watered his fleet at the island of Lara, and determined to remain at anchor in sight of the city until the end of October, in hopes of a reinforcement of ships sent from Portugal to Socotra and dispatched to reinforce him from that island.

During this second blockade, a successful diversion was made by the Portuguese, in which a force of five hundred archers, sent to the assistance of Ormuz from the Xeque Ismael, was dispersed at Nabande; and all seemed favourable to the victors, when the disastrous loss of Diogo de Melo—who had joined Afonso from Melinde—off the island of Lara, changed once more the aspect of affairs; and a storm, which tried the seaworthiness of the nearly worn-out ships to the very utmost, compelled Afonso Dalboquerque again to abandon his intention of blockading Ormuz and to steer for India.

This voyage was safely accomplished, and the Chief Captain reached Cananor at the beginning of Decem-

[1] See vol. ii, pp. 112 and 113, note, for the passages relating to this event.

ber, where he found the Viceroy, the deserting Captains, the Commendador Ruy Soarez, and the fleet of Jorge de Aguiar. Dinis Fernandez, Captain of the *Rey Grande*, which had been missing for a little time previously, arrived a few days afterwards, and with this event the narrative of the First Part concludes.

The Second Part of the COMMENTARIES commences with the request made by Afonso Dalboquerque to the Viceroy that the office of Governor of India should be delivered up to him, according to the instructions sent out from Portugal in the fleet of that year. This demand gave an opportunity to the fugitive Captains to intrigue against their former Chief Captain with the Viceroy, who desired to remain in office; constant bickerings and quarrels arose between Dalboquerque and Dalmeida, which were for a while abated, while the latter was absent in an expedition against the *Rumes*, or so-called *Roman* Turks at Diu, but broke out afresh on his victorious return, Afonso Dalboquerque having, meanwhile, gone to Cochim, where the Viceroy celebrated his victory.

In the meantime, Diogo Lopez de Siqueira, who had set out from Portugal on the 5th of April, 1508, as Chief Captain of four ships bound for Malaca, arrived at Cochim, after a severe passage of nearly twelve months' duration. The Viceroy, who pretended that he desired to carry Afonso Dalboquerque back to Portugal with him, wished to appoint the newly arrived Diogo Lopez Chief Captain of India, but the latter declined the doubtful compliment, and was not

long before he sailed away to prosecute his voyage. At length a final stroke was delivered by the Viceroy against his successor designate, by causing him to be arrested and imprisoned in the fortress of Cananor.

But the old proverb, that when things are at their worst they are sure to mend, was truly exemplified in the case of Afonso Dalboquerque. His case to all appearance was desperate, and had it not been for the indomitable spirit which formed so prominent a trait in his character, and which had already on several occasions of peril buoyed him up, and which did not even now desert him, he would have succumbed to the disgrace and indignity heaped upon his head at the very moment when he looked to enjoy the high reward which his sovereign had thought fit to bestow upon him for his fidelity and distinguished valour. His release was brought about by the arrival of his nephew, the Marshal Dom Fernando Coutinho, at Cananor, in the month of October, whose expedition is well and briefly set forth from the "*Armadas da India.*"

DOM[1] FERNANDO COUTINHO, MARSHAL OF PORTUGAL, 1509.

"D. Fernando Coutinho, Chief Captain of fifteen ships, set out on the 12th of March, Captains Francisco de Sá, etc., fifteen ships, containing three thousand men. In these ships orders went out that Afonso Dalboquerque was to govern India. Francisco de Sá was '*Vedor* da Fazenda do Porto'; Lionel Coutinho,

[1] For the original Portuguese text, see page 56, note.

son of Vasco Fernandez Coutinho, went in the *Flor da Rosa;* Ruy Freire, son of Nuno Fernandez Freire, in the *Garça;* Jorge da Cunha in the *Magdalena;* Rodrigo Rabello de Castelbranco in the *Santa Clara;* Bras Teixeira in the *Ferroa;* Francisco Marecos in the *S. Francisco,* etc.

"Of all these fifteen ships, that of Francisco Marecos alone did not pass over to India.

"The Marshal put Afonso Dalboquerque in possession of the Government of India, and Dom Francisco de Almeida embarked for the kingdom [of Portugal] in accordance with the orders of His Highness. After the departure of the Viceroy, the Governor and the Marshal went with all their fleet against Calicut, where they landed, and having destroyed and sacked the city, the Marshal and many Captains and soldiers were killed. At the end of this year the Viceroy delivered up the Government to Afonso Dalboquerque, and sailed away for the kingdom in three ships, and was killed by the Cafres at the watering place of Saldanha, etc."

Afonso Dalboquerque had been in confinement for three months when the Marshal opportunely arrived, and the latter, in obedience to his instructions, took him on, as Captain General of India, to Cochim, which port they reached safely on the 29th of October. On the 4th of November the Viceroy had a long conversation with the Marshal in reference to the dissensions between himself and Afonso Dalboquerque, and on the next day he surrendered the government into Dalboquerque's hands and embarked on board the *Garça,*

which left India to carry him to Portugal on the 10th of the same month.

The affairs relating to the succession being now settled, the Marshal unfolded to his uncle the orders which he had received from the King to destroy the city of Calicut, one of the most important strongholds on the Eastern coast in the power of the Çamorim.[1] The King of Cochim created a diversion in favour of the Portuguese by stirring up war on the interior frontier of Calicut, and the Portuguese fleet was on the point of sailing when Vasco da Silveira arrived from Socotra, bringing an urgent request on the part of Duarte de Lemos, chief Captain of the Arabian coast, whose head-quarters were in that island, for new ships to replace his original fleet, which had fallen into decay. The unwelcome messenger was put off for a season, and seized the opportunity of accompanying the Portuguese fleet to Calicut, where he was killed; but on the conclusion of the affair at Calicut, Diogo Correa was dispatched in the same ship with reinforcements for Socotra, and news of the death of Vasco da Silveira, the destruction of Calicut, and the intention of Afonso Dalboquerque to come to Socotra on his way to the Red Sea in the course of the following summer. On the receipt of this intelligence, Duarte de Lemos appointed Pero Ferreira to the Captaincy of the Fortress, sent D. Afonso de Noronha

[1] For the treachery which the Portuguese under Vasco da Gama experienced here, and the severe punishment which that navigator visited upon the city, see Lord Stanley's *Correa*, chap xvii.

to India, and he himself returned to winter at Melinde.

Meanwhile, the combined fleet of twenty ships of war and a crowd of smaller vessels, with a force of two thousand Portuguese on board, set sail from Cochim on the 31st of December, 1509, and brought up in front of the Port of Calicut on the 3rd of January. On the following day the attack was made in the absence of the Çamorim, who was on the expedition which had been forced on him by the King of Cochim. It resulted in the entry of the city, the burning of the King's Palace, the ultimate retreat of the Portuguese before a strong reserve force, after slaying the *Catual*, the Governor of the city, two *Caimais* and three thousand native soldiers, and the death of ten or twelve of the principal men, including the Marshal Dom Fernando Coutinho, Vasco da Silveira, Gonçalo Queimado, the Governor's standard-bearer, and Manuel Peçanha (the officer appointed to succeed in case of the death of the Viceroy), who had much underrated the resistance of the inhabitants. Afonso Dalboquerque himself did not escape unhurt, for he was twice wounded in the shoulders by lances thrust at him by the enemy over the palisades. Thus repulsed, the fleet returned to Cochim, two *caravelas* being left behind to blockade the harbour.

Nothing daunted at the unsatisfactory result of this attack, Afonso Dalboquerque sent Frey Luis, a Franciscan Friar, to the neighbouring King of Narsinga, urging him to come down with a powerful force from the interior and co-operate with the maritime power of the Por-

tuguese, promising in recompense for this aid to give a monopoly in the trade of horses [1] from Ormuz to the port of Baticala.

Two days after the departure of the Friar to Narsinga, and of Diogo Correa to Socotra as already noticed, two vessels of the fleet commanded by Diogo Lopez de Sequeira arrived with Nuno Vaz de Castelo Branco, who brought news of the treachery of the Malays, the arrest of Ruy de Araujo, the factor, and twenty men, the burning of two ships of the fleet, and the touching of his Chief Captain at Caecoulão, from which port they had made their way to Cochim, while the latter had taken a direct course homewards to Portugal.

The notes descriptive of the Province of Malabar and the customs of its inhabitants, which follow in the commentaries immediately after the text of the instructions to Fr. Luis, in respect of his journey to the Kingdom of Narsinga, are of course very superficial, yet they represent the matters which struck their observers most forcibly.

There are, however, two points which may be mentioned here. The first is the statement that the Brahmans "have knowledge of the Trinity and of Our Lady, whereby it appears that anciently they were Christians". With regard to the alleged Christianity which was observed in this and other districts of India, it must be borne in mind, that like all early travellers to that country, Afonso Dalboquerque, following the lead of

[1] For an account of the exportation of horses, see Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, page 88, note, and vol. ii, page 322, note.

Vasco da Gama, mistook the followers of Brahma and Buddha for Christians, because they worshipped the images of the Virgin and Child which were carried in the Portuguese ships. These idolaters probably saw in the Catholic images the representation of their own Blessed Lady, Maha Madja, holding in her arms her Son Shakya. Under the influence of the same sentiments, observing the similarity of the name of the Indian goddess, and the aureolæ or nimbi surrounding the heads of the mother and her son, the Portuguese on their part fell into the same mistakes when they beheld them in the native temples. Nevertheless, there were without doubt, in the time of Afonso Dalboquerque and early Portuguese discoverers, a certain but very moderate number of Nestorian Christians[1] on the great continent of India; a number far below the calculation of the Portuguese, whose enumeration of twenty-five thousand Christians and three hundred churches in one city alone (that of Coulão), and whose frequently recorded description of the refusal of these so-called Christians to consort with persons of another religious belief, clearly points to their mistaking[2] the highest caste of Indians for a people practising corrupt

[1] "In the Province of Malabar there are between Chetua (Chaitwa) and Coulão many Christians of the time of St. Thomas, and many churches"—page 79. See Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, Book iii, chap. 18, "Discoursing of the place where lieth the body of St. Thomas the Apostle"; and chap. 22, "Of the kingdom of Coilum".

[2] A similar error was made by Afonso Dalboquerque with regard to the subjects of the Xeque Ismael.—See page 117.

forms derived from ancient knowledge of the details of Christianity.

The medicinal remedies (the other point to which the reader's attention should be directed) described in the text on p. 79, are so few and simple that it would appear, if the passage stood alone, that the Indians had a very imperfect acquaintance with the healing art; but this is an error arising from the superficial observation of the Portuguese. Anyone who will take the trouble to peruse the "Commentary on the Hindoo System of Medicine", by T. A. Wise, M.D., of the Bengal Civil Service, (8vo. Calcutta, 1845), or the first volume of the "Review of the History of Medicine", by the same author, will readily perceive that the Indians, who, like the ancient Egyptians, were a nation of druggists, possessed a very extensive pharmacopœia, and a general knowledge of anatomy, and that they performed important surgical operations with a scientific skill that is truly astonishing.

It was not long after the affair at Calicut, before Afonso Dalboquerque was ready to put into operation new and far wider schemes of conquest. On the 10th of February he set out from Cochim again, with a fleet of twenty-three vessels for Angediva, with the intention of going to Socotra, fulfilling his promise of reinforcing Duarte de Lemos and passing up the Red Sea, to destroy the fleet of the Grand Sultan, and having done this, to complete the fortress of Ormuz which had been left just commenced.

But the voyage was destined to be interrupted by a long delay of time spent in an undertaking, the mag-

nitude and successful results of which were not at the time foreseen, although it now sheds lustre on the name of Afonso Dalboquerque, and the memory of that great commander is for ever connected with it. The fleet had only progressed as far as Mergeu, when Timoja — formerly a Hindoo corsair, but now self-raised to a position of great honour—a man completely in the interest of the Portuguese, visited the Governor, and dissuaded him from carrying out his intended voyage. He represented—a tale told to no unwilling ears — the political disorders at Goa, the intention entertained by the Mahometans of utilizing that naturally powerful position as a base of extensive operations, with a view to the expulsion of the Portuguese from India, the death of "the Çabaio," Lord of Goa, the youth and helplessness of "the Hidalcão" his son,[1] and urged Afonso Dalboquerque to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him and to seize the island. At first, Afonso Dalboquerque, with the tenacity which forms so strong a characteristic of the Portuguese nation, clung to his original scheme ; but eventually, after convening a general meeting of all the Captains, *fidalgos,* and pilots of the fleet, he came to see the advantage of the situation, and brought up in front of Goa, while Timoja's men captured and took possession of the fortress of Cintacora ; after which he conducted his fleet over the bar, and set to work to take soundings of the river.

This proceeding led to the storming and capture of the tower or castle of Pangij,—otherwise Pangim, and

[1] See further on, under the description of Goa.

now the site of the principal buildings of Portuguese Goa, as will be shown in the description of the island —which commanded the entrance to the bar. The fall of Pangij so disheartened the Moors, that they sent a message of surrender, which Afonso Dalboquerque accepted on conditions of all the Rumes and Turks (known to be within the city) being delivered over to him as prisoners. Melique Çufegurgij, the Governor of the city, however, having learnt by experience the inevitable fate of torture, mutilation and death, that was in store for these people if they fell into the power of the Portuguese, dismantled the fortress and fled away with the proscribed men, to avoid the performance of so heinous an act of treachery to those who had been his allies.

At this part of the text of the *Commentaries*, a brief description "of the site and foundation of the city of Goa" occurs, to which I shall revert hereafter, comparing it with the account given by Cottineau de Kloguen, who appears to have devoted considerable time and special attention to the history and topography of the island. The notice of the reader must, however, be directed to the consideration of one important change of native custom in this island which is alleged to have been brought about by the victorious Portuguese. The horrible East Indian custom of burning widows, which, to his lasting credit, Afonso Dalboquerque prohibited at Goa, (see vol. ii. p. 94), has been written of from almost every point of view, and it would be difficult to find anything new to record here concerning this inhuman custom. There

is, however, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. ix, part i, 1876) recently published, a very remarkable and circumstantial account of the hideous conventionalities in connection with these revolting practices, obtaining in a part of Asia where Brahminism flourishes vigorously, which appears to me to exhibit the newest, the most faithful, and the most painful picture of these self-inflicted tortures that has ever been penned. It occurs in "*An Account of the Island of Bali*," by R. Friederich, and the portions to which I would especially call attention are these :—

"The *burning of widows* has attracted most attention from Europeans. Wonder is expressed at the great number of women sacrificed in this way in former times. It cannot surprise us to see so many women burnt, particularly since the women who offer themselves gain the highest distinction, and the sacred writings from the *Parvas* (divisions of the *Mahâbhârata*) downwards represent this act as praiseworthy and almost necessary. That in India but one wife follows her husband in death, is naturally explained by the fact that very few Hindoos have more than one wife. But little is yet known of the burning of widows among the princes of India, and as but few independent princes now exist who are worshippers of Siva, the silence on this subject is easily accounted for. . . . The names given to the burning of widows are *Satia*[1] and *Bela*. *Satia is the burning of a wife who,* from a platform erected for the purpose, *throws herself into the same fire with her husband, committing suicide with the creese at the same time. Bela,* on the contrary, *is the burning of a wife who is burnt in a separate fire,* not with her husband, *jumping into it alive,* without using the creese. This latter method is not thought so much of, but is the more common. The words *Satia* and

[1] *Suttee.*

Bela, are Indian—*Satia* is *truth, fidelity* ; the wife who dies in this way is *Satiawati*, a true faithful woman, who has performed in all things her duty to her husband. *Bela* is *retaliation*, or rather the Sanskrit *welâ, sudden and easy death*. This is rendered clear by the way in which it takes place; and further by the fact that the sacrifice of the followers of a prince defeated in war, who then die together in an *amok* is also called *Bela*, . . . and the women who sacrifice themselves are indeed, as a rule, slaves, for they are mostly from the fourth caste—the *Sudras*—at least all the concubines are ; but their immolation is voluntary. From the moment that they declare themselves ready to be burnt alive, they are holy persons; they enjoy all the honours of the Pitaras. They may no longer tread the ground, but must always be carried. Offerings are even made to them, and all their wishes are satisfied. Nevertheless, the successor of the deceased simply regards such concubines as the servants who will be required by his father after his cremation. The women themselves are excited by religious ideas ; a female priest always accompanies them till the moment of death, and describes to them, in glowing colours, the happiness of life in *Swarga*, the rise to a higher caste, and how they will thereby become the lawful wives of the deceased. To these deceptions must be added the honour and the advantages which the woman's relations expect to receive from the prince's successor; the men of her family have a claim to offices. They are, therefore, the only persons who sometimes use means of compulsion to prevent the women from retracting. They accompany the victim of the family; they keep up the fire, and, if the woman hesitates, tip up the plank on which she stands above the fire, so that she falls in against her will. These cases, however, are of rare occurrence. Deception of the imagination and the use of opium have generally made the victims quite indifferent, and they jump into a fire as if it were a bath.

"Eight days after the death of a prince or noble, his

wives are asked whether any of them wish to follow him into the fire, those who then state their willingness are accepted, and, during the interval before the cremation, are shown the above honours. They cannot easily change their minds; the opposition of their relatives, and the shame which would attach to them, as well as the deceptions of the priests, hold them back. The women who may wish to give in their names after the period of eight days are not accepted, perhaps in order to avoid the appearance of compulsion. The women who have offered themselves to be burned, lead thenceforward a life of pleasure and enjoy much greater honour than they ever knew before. This again is a reason why they should not change their minds during the interval, sometimes a long one, before the cremation."

Mr. Friederich then goes on to relate the details of a cremation of which he was an eye-witness. He says:

"On the 20th December, 1847, the Prince of Gianyar was burnt. The corpse was followed by *the three wives* (concubines) who became *Belas*. A procession went before them as before the body. They, like the body, were seated in the highest storeys of the *Bades*.[1] After the body of the prince had arrived at the place of cremation, the three *Belas*, in their *Bades*—each preceded by the bearers of the offerings destined for her, with armed men and bands of music[2] were conducted to the three fires.

[1] The funeral pyres. The *Bade* "rests on a basis of bamboo, concealed by handsome hangings, under which the bearers place themselves, to move this structure along. On this foundation there is a pyramid of wood-work or bamboo, in from three to eleven stories."

[2] This agrees with the account in the *Commentaries*, Part II, chapter xx. "Tinham por costume, que se algum Gentio morria, a mulher se avia de queimar por sua vontade; e quando hia a este sacrificio, era com grandes festas, e tangeres, dizendo que queria ir acompanhar seu marido ao outro Mundo; e a que isto não fazia, era lançada dantre as outras, e ficava ganhando por seu corpo pera

"Their *Bades* were also turned round three times and were carried round the whole place of cremation. The women were then carried down steps from the *Bades*, and up the steps of the places erected for their cremation. These places consisted of a square of masonry three feet high, filled with combustibles, which had been burning since the morning, and threw out a glowing heat; the persons appointed to watch them fed the fire, and at the moment when the women leaped down, poured upon it a quantity of oil and arrack, so that it flared up to a height of eight feet, and must have suffocated the victims at once. Behind this furnace stood an erection of bamboo, in the form of a bridge, of the same width as the square of masonry, and about forty feet long and from sixteen to eighteen feet high; steps of bamboo led up to it in the rear. In the centre there is a small house, affording a last resting place to the victim, in which she waits until the ceremonies for her husband are finished, and his body has begun to burn. The side of the bamboo scaffold nearest to the fire is protected by a wall of wet Pisang-stems. Upon the bridge lies a plank smeared with oil, which is pushed out a little over the fire, as soon as the time for the leap draws near. At first there is a door at the end of the bridge, and this is not removed till the last minute. The victim sits in the house on the bridge, accompanied by a female priest and by her relatives. They all speak to her of the happiness which she will now shortly enjoy with her husband. She then makes her toilet; her hair especially is combed, the mirror used, and her garments newly arranged. She arrays herself exactly as she would for a feast. Her dress is white, her breasts are covered with

as obras do pagode, de que era freguez; e como Afonso Dalboquerque tomou o Reyno de Goa, não consentio que dali por diante se queimasse mais nenhuma mulher; e posto que mudar costume seja parelha de morte, todavia ellas folgáram com a vida, e diziam grandes bens delle, por lhes mandar que se não queimassem."—See page 94.

a white *slendang*; she wears no ornaments, and after all the preparations to which it has been subjected, her hair at the last moment hangs quite loose. When the corpse of the prince was almost consumed, the three Belas got ready; they glanced one towards another, to convince themselves that all was prepared, but this was not a glance of fear, but of impatience, and it seemed to express a wish that they might leap at the same moment. When the door had been opened, and the plank smeared with oil and pushed out, each took her place on her plank, made three *sembahs* by joining her hands above her head, and one of the bystanders placed a small dove (*titirah*) upon her head. When the dove flies away, the soul is considered to escape. They then immediately leaped down. There was no cry in leaping, no cry from the fire, they must have been suffocated at once. One of the Europeans present succeeded in pushing through the crowd to the fire, and in seeing the body some seconds after the leap; it was dead, and its movements were caused merely by the combustion of the materials cast upon the flames. On other occasions, however, Europeans have heard cries uttered in leaping, and in the first moments afterwards.

"During the whole time, from the burning of the prince till the leap of the victims, the air resounded with the clangour and noise of the numerous bands of music. The soldiers had drawn up outside the square, and contributed to the noise by firing off their muskets. Besides these some small cannon were discharged. There was not one of the 50,000 Balinese present who did not show a merry face, no one was filled with repugnance and disgust, except a few Europeans, whose only desire was to see the end of such barbarities. The Balinese look upon this cremation simply as the consummation of their religious and domestic duties. No one sees any cruelty in it. Yet, as the all powerful priests attach little importance to it for their own caste, with their aid the diminution and abolition of these human sacrifices among the other castes might be effected. The

priests' interest in maintaining it is, alas! a monetary one; and therefore no help can be expected from them."

If Afonso Dalboquerque really succeeded in suppressing at Goa scenes such as these, it goes a great way towards the redemption of his character from the charge of cruelty which has been made against him by reason of his conduct at Ormuz, and on other occasions.

On the day after the flight of the Captain of Goa, the Portuguese fleet, except the large ships,[1] which were prudently anchored just outside the bar, steered to the city—containing a force of a thousand Portuguese, and two hundred men of Malabar. Afonso Dalboquerque went in procession to the Castle, where the keys of the fortress were delivered to him, inspected the Palace and Arsenals, and took possession of the wives and children of the fugitive Rumes and Turks. Immediately afterwards, he rewarded and dismissed the Cananor ships, which had accompanied him, on their appointed voyage, and dispatched Timoja to destroy the Castle of Banda, a neighbouring stronghold still in possession of the Turks. But, before the expedition arrived at the Castle, the Turks fled away, and the Hindoos, who were friendly to the Portuguese, were allowed to hold it, on promise of obedience. Similar proceedings took place at the neighbouring fortress of Condal.

But Afonso Dalboquerque strongly felt the urgent necessity of fortifying the position which he had so gloriously won, before the enemy, who had recoiled

[1] The names of these were *Sancta Clara*, *Cirne*, *Flor-de-la-Mar*, and *Flor da Rosa*.

before him, should have time to regain courage and concentrate their vastly superior numbers against him. Foundations for a fortress of very imposing strength were laid, and a turn of work allotted to every one; and, after some demur on the part of the Governor of India, who probably distrusted the old Hindoo corsair after all, Timoja was appointed chief *Alguazil* of the Kingdom of Goa, in the name of the King of Portugal, on condition of his paying a yearly favour or tribute of one hundred thousand cruzados.

On the fall of Goa, two ambassadors—the one from the Xeque Isṃael, the other from the King of Ormuz, who were in the city with the object of enlisting the power of the Hidalcão against the Portuguese—had an audience of the victorious Governor. To the former, who demanded in vain the introduction of the laws and currency of the Xeque into the territory of Goa, an envoy was promised; and no time was lost in fitting out Ruy Gomez,—a Portuguese of position at home, who had come to India under some kind of banishment—and the Xeque's ambassador, in two ships, with a letter from Afonso Dalboquerque to Xeque Ismael, announcing his intention of revisiting Ormuz very soon, offering terms of an alliance, and with special and minute instructions for the conduct of the Portuguese envoy and his interpreter. Ruy Ġomez also carried a letter from Dalboquerque to the King of Ormuz. But, on arriving at this city, Ċogeatar, who had succeeded in his policy against the Portuguese, ill-treated the messenger, and procured his death by poison, so that the intended communication with the Xeque Ismael was never carried out.

When this Embassy had set out, Afonso Dalboquerque sent Francisco Pantoja to visit Afonso de Noronha, the Captain of Socotra, with a shipload of supplies, and a letter to Duarte de Lemos, explaining the delay which had befallen the fleet. On his way, the messenger, Pantoja, captured a Cambay ship of six hundred tons—the *Meri*—bound for Mecca, which he took into Socotra. There he found Duarte de Lemos with four ships, waiting for the arrival of Dalboquerque, Pero Ferreira acting as Captain of Fort S. Miguel, and D. Afonso de Noronha already set out since last April to India.

Duarte de Lemos was greatly irritated by this second procrastination of much-needed succour; he laid hands upon the *Meri* prize, claiming her as captured within the limits of his jurisdiction; and leaving Pero Ferriera in charge, took Francisco Pantoja and the prize away to Cananor, and, arriving on the 31st August, found Afonso Dalboquerque had returned thither from Goa just shortly before him.

In the meantime, Afonso Dalboquerque set himself to the task of consolidating his position at Goa. The annual revenue, which was originally paid by the inhabitants to their native rulers, had been 150,000 *xerafins*, and though this had been doubled under the rule of the Çabaio, it was now again fixed at the first sum above mentioned. Tanadares, or receivers of taxes, were appointed under the arrangements of João Alvarez de Caminha, from among Portuguèse and Hindoos of suitable position; and a new Portuguese coinage of gold, silver, and copper, in accordance with

the necessities of the currency, issued, the coins of the Çabaio being withdrawn from circulation. Supplies were collected from all parts, the *xabandar*—or superintendent of the coast—enjoined to look to the collection of horses and other importations, and Francisco Serrão dispatched at the beginning of winter, early in April 1510, to carry news to Cochim of the capture of Goa, and to take back stores. But by this time information began to reach the Governor that the Hidalçao was preparing for an early attempt to regain his lost territory; and the captains were commencing to murmur against the hardships and toil to which they were subjected. Yet out of a desire to complete the fort, Afonso Dalboquerque put up with all, and contented himself with reprimanding the chief instigator of the disaffection.

The first indication of the overwhelming forces that were about to be massed against the small Portuguese army was conveyed in a letter from Mandaloy, the friendly chief of Condal, to Afonso Dalboquerque, informing him of overtures made to the Hidalcão by the chiefs of Pervaloy, Sanguiçar, and Carrapetão, districts adjacent to Goa on the interior side. Accordingly Jorge da Cunha and sixty horsemen, together with Menaique and Melique Çufecondal, two native captains, and 4,000 native troopers, were dispatched with a large detachment to co-operate with Mandaloy; a squadron of three vessels commanded by Diogo Fernandez de Bejá being also told off for the same purpose. The detachment had not, however, crossed over from the Island of Divar (or Divarij) to the main-

land when news reached Jorge da Cunha of the arrival of the advanced guard of Hidalcão in the neighbouring districts of Banda and Condal. When this had been reported to Afonso Dalboquerque another smaller detachment was sent out under the guidance of Diogo Fernandez, and twelve horsemen, with Mirale in command of one thousand Canarese peons ; and marching in the darkness of the night, this force came up suddenly with the vanguard of the Hidalcão's troops, and was so utterly dispersed that half the number of the peons were lost, the remainder making their way back with difficulty to Goa.

By this movement, although it entailed a loss of men who could be ill spared, Afonso Dalboquerque had at length obtained definite news of the position of the enemy, who was found to be advancing towards Benastarim ; Jorge da Cunha was recalled and the friendly Bersoré, king of Garçopa, who declared himself ready to fight for the Portuguese, was encouraged to hold himself in readiness for the enemy. The strong places of the Island of Goa were now inspected by the Governor ; Benastarim, Old Goa (the ancient city), the passes of Augij, Gondalij, and Agacij reinforced ; the whole floating strength reviewed under D. Antonio de Noronha ; and the *xabandar*, being found guilty of unpermitted communication with the enemy, put to death. By the time that all these preparations had been effected, the Hidalcão had conducted his forces as far towards the Portuguese as the suburb of Benastarim, where Garcia de Sousa shot down some of the outposts and set fire to a mosque which they held ;

and not long after, three deserters, a Cretan, an Albanian and a Russian, reached the Portuguese lines.

Negociations thereupon commenced with the mission of João Machado, a Portuguese, and a Venetian whose name is not recorded, two foreigners in the service of the Hidalcão; these declared the strenuous efforts of the Hidalcão to recover possession of the island, and the readiness of the inhabitants to co-operate with any chance accession of native forces against the Portuguese. Afonso Dalboquerque, however, refused to evacuate Goa on any account, and Baldrez, a Portuguese hostage in the camp of the Moors, reported, on his return, their extensive arrangements for an attack on the island, in the course of which they were prepared to sacrifice a million of men. Timoja himself confirmed the information which had been obtained from the sources already mentioned, and advised Afonso Dalboquerque to shut up the head men, women, and children, not only of the Moors but of the Hindoos as well, a proceeding which was inaugurated by the incarceration of Timoja's own family among the first. No other harm appears to have been offered to these persons than incarceration; but the wives and children of the Rumes, who were absent in the enemy's camp, were taken for slaves, as an example of vengeance visited upon the subjects of the Grand Sultan of Cairo.

A stockade was erected by Garcia de Sousa at Benastarim; the pass of 'Augij reinforced with native troops; a general inspection made by Afonso Dalboquerque throughout the island; Melique Çufecondal

imprisoned for improper communication with the enemy; and Diogo Fernandez de Beja, on his return from Condal, where he had manœuvred in support of Jorge da Cunha, dispatched to the assistance of D. Antonio de Noronha, whose special duty was to defend the island from any attempted crossing *en masse*, and principally at the pass of Augij, where Timoja's contingent was posted. The friendly Mandaloy made a diversion against the Hidalcão with four thousand men, overran the passes, cut off the enemy's supplies, and wrote to Timoja that he would fall upon the Hidalcão in concert with any attack made by the Portuguese.

But, notwithstanding the great exertions made by the Portuguese to retain possession of the Island of Goa, their unabated vigilance and intrepid valour were outweighed by the vastly superior numbers of native warriors hurled against them. On the night of Friday, the 17th May, 1510,—the depth of the Indian winter—three hundred Turks crossed over at Augij[1] on rafts, unperceived by the Portuguese lookouts, and a second detachment of seven hundred were in the act of crossing when they were discovered, and the artillery from the fleet, under command of D. Antonio, very quickly dispersed and destroyed them. In the meantime, however, another body of two thousand Turks crossed over a lagoon of mud and weeds, overcame the resistance offered to their progress by Jorge da Cunha and Timoja's captain Menaique, and with their num-

[1] The chapter heading, page 154, reads *Agacij*, by a typographical error of the Portuguese Edition, in place of *Augij*.

bers augmented by the addition of some of Timoja's men who fraternised with them, ran to Benastarim, where they compelled Garcia de Sousa to withdraw to Goa, and finally proceeded to Gondalij, where Francisco de Sousa Mancias and Francisco Pereira Coutinho retreated in like manner on the approach of the enemy in such great force.

The Moorish inhabitants of Goa were by this time in a violent state of excitement, and rose up against the Portuguese; and Afonso Dalboquerque, after dispatching Diogo Fernandez to the assistance of Jorge da Cunha, who with difficulty was making his way to safer quarters with the main body, caused the city to be set on fire in four places, and fell upon the enemy with the sword, without giving quarter to any. Timoja himself nearly fell a victim to the Moors, but he was rescued, and all withdrew to the fortress, with a loss of thirty Portuguese killed and as many wounded, leaving to the Hidalcão possession of the burning walls of the great city of Goa, and the disfigured corpses of an uncounted number of his soldiers and subjects.

At first, it was the intention of the Governor of India to withstand a siege in the fortress of Goa—the great strength of which the writer of the *Commentaries* contrasts with the fortifications of Rhodes—yet on reflection that upon the safety of the fleet the maintenance of all his Indian possessions depended, and not without misgivings with regard to the fidelity of his captains—a bitter lesson which he had learnt at Ormuz under circumstances somewhat like the present—he

decided to withdraw to his ships and drop down the river to Pangij. This movement was carried out on Friday,[1] 20th of May, 1510, after embarking all the stores and provisions, and the natives he had in his power, decapitating Melique Çufecondal and a hundred and fifty principal Moors, hamstringing the horses in the stables, and burning the arsenal. The captains endeavoured by every means in their power to compel Afonso Dalboquerque to sail away over the bar of Goa, and no amount of reasoning had any effect with these malcontents until the wreck of the *St. John*, which had been ordered to cross over, convinced even the most sceptical of the fruitlessness and foolhardiness of such an attempt at that season. In the meantime, the enemy, who had posted a strong force in the castle of Pangij which commanded the anchorage, began to harass the fleet; and the report of the shortness of provisions, which had reached the Hidalcão through two deserters, revived a hope in that chief that the Portuguese would be driven to come to terms; but Afonso Dalboquerque rejected all overtures, and feeling that the position of Pangij must be carried at all hazards, organised an attack which resulted in a successful entry of that fortress on the 14th June, and a slaughter of upwards of two hundred and fifty Turks and peons.

A report that the Hidalcão was preparing a fleet, induced Afonso Dalboquerque to send a reconnoitring party, which unfortunately terminated in the mortal wounding of his nephew D. Antonio de Noronha,

[1] The 20th May, 1510, fell on a Monday.

while attempting to launch a galeot that was found on the stocks in the dockyards by this expedition. This young captain, full of promise of military renown, died shortly afterwards on the 8th of July.

The Hidalcão did not, however, cease his endeavours to arrange terms with the Portuguese, but without achieving any diplomatic success, although Afonso Dalboquerque honoured the noble Mahometan Plenipotentiary Mostafacão with a reception due to his rank, and accorded to him a private interview, where the offer of Cintácora in lieu of Goa was made to, and rejected by, the Portuguese Commander, followed by an implied proposal to yield up Goa itself, if Timoja were delivered into the hands of the Turks. But this was a proposition which Afonso Dalboquerque dismissed with well merited rebuke and indignation. It was during the time that the Portuguese fleet was riding at anchor withinside the bar, that the affair of Ruy Diaz occurred, which has been brought forward so prominently in reference to the character of Afonso Dalboquerque. Divested of its sensational aspects, the case appears plainly enough to resolve itself into a flagrant instance of insubordination, and illicit communication with the enemy; for there is no doubt that the Moorish women, whom the unfortunate man was in the habit of visiting, were likely to tamper with him to compass their own liberty, and the destruction of the hostile fleet—and this at a time when affairs were in a most critical and unsatisfactory situation, an element which added considerably to the gravity of the offence. Sharp and sure as was the

retributive punishment meted out to the offender, an example was needed to reduce the extensive and growing discontent and rebellious spirit which was rife among the officers; and there is little doubt that the fate of this person not only operated beneficially upon the disorderly dispositions of these men, but also that it was the means of preserving the whole party from a planned and inevitable destruction, had the matter not been found out in time.

Not long after this event, the prevailing sickness and want of all kinds of provisions forced Afonso Dalboquerque—much against his will, for he had set his mind on regaining possession of the Island of Goa—to dispatch D. João de Lima to Angediva, and Timoja to Onor for supplies, in the middle of July. But they could not get over the bar, and on the 21st of the same month, when, wearied with the importunities of his men, his whole fleet stood over to the bar, Afonso found the little squadron still at anchor, waiting for deeper water and better weather. In the meantime the enemy mustered in great strength at Bradez (or Bardes) and harassed the fleet with artillery, which drove it to return and reoccupy its old anchorage in the river; and it was not until the end of the month that João de Lima and Timoja were able to get over the bar, and sail for their respective destinations.

After the departure of these captains, redoubled pressure was put upon the Governor, who at length, on the 16th of August, passed over the bar with the remainder of his fleet and directed his course for Angediva. On that very day he sighted a fleet which

had been sent out from Portugal under Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos, particulars of which, from the MS. *Armadas da India*, are given at page 196.

"DIOGO MENDEZ DE VASCONCELLOS, CHIEF CAPTAIN, 1510.

"Diogo Mendez de Vasconçellos, Chief Captain of four ships, set out on the 12th of March to go and conquer Malaca;—Captains Balthazar da Sylva, Pero Caresma, Misser Serniche, Master-at-Arms. And in the same year there set out as Chief Captain of three *caravelas*, João Serrão: Captains Pero da Sousa, Gaspar Cão; and this was to go and explore the Island of São Lourenço, and establish therein a factory, which was not carried out.[1]

"In the same year Gonçalo de Siqueira, Chief Captain of seven ships, set out on the 16th March,[2] Captains Lourenço Moreno, João de Aveiro, Jorge Nunes de Leão, Lourenço Lopez, Manoel da Cunha, who was lost close by Moçambique, and Diogo Lobbo d'Alualade.

"Diogo Mendes de Vasconselos did not complete his voyage to Malaca in accordance with the Royal

[1] "João Serrão, Chief Captain of three sail, or *caravelas*, set out in the month of August, 1510. Another account calls Pero de Souza Payo de Souza, and does not record the name of the other captain, but only says that he was a cavalier of the king's household."

[2] "Manoel da Cunha was the son of Tristão da Cunha,—he was lost. Jorge Nunes de Leon went in the ship *Sta. Anna*. João de Aveiro, because he was well qualified in the art of the sea, served also as pilot to the ship *S. Sebastian*, in which he sailed. Manoel da Cunha was lost, with all his people, close to Moçambique. Gonçalo de Siqueira, on the return journey to Portugal, wintered in Moçambique, and arrived in the year 'twelve."

instructions, because the Governor Afonso Dalboquerque prevented him.

"Of these fourteen ships the first four, whereof Diogo Mendez de Vasconsellos was Chief Captain, was to go to Malaca to establish the trade there. The seven of which Gonçalo de Siqueira was Chief Captain were to go and carry the cargo of spiceries. The three of which João Serrao was Chief Captain, were sent by the King to explore the Island of S. Lourenço, and to establish a trade in ginger with the natives in the port of Matatana."

On the 17th of August, the united fleets of Afonso Dalboquerque from Goa, and of Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos from Portugal, anchored off Angediva; but without loss of time all proceeded to Onor two days afterwards. At this latter port Bras Vieira, the Portuguese *Tanadar* of Cintácora, was found, having saved himself from molestation, when Goa was retaken, by a timely flight. Timoja was also found here, and this chief imparted to Afonso Dalboquerque the latest information of doings in Goa,—that three days after the departure of the Portuguese fleet, the Hidalcão had commenced removing his forces, and the inhabitants of the lands conterminous to Goa had revolted and massacred the Moorish *Tanadars*.

On the 26th of August, Afonso Dalboquerque and Diogo Mendez reached Cananor, where news was received that a large force had set forth from Suez to reinforce Goa. This determined Afonso Dalboquerque to exercise a discretionary power undoubtedly vested

in the Governor of India, and to strengthen his forces by temporarily diverting the fleet of Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos, which was destined for Malaca, from that adventure, to go with him to Goa.

A ceremonious interview was then held with the King of Cananor, and the formal delivery to him of the keys of the Portuguese fortress made—the King handing them back again immediately to the Portuguese captain. Two days afterwards, Duarte de Lemos arrived from Socotra with Francisco de Pantoja, and the prize ship *Meri*, respecting the disposal of which they were at variance. Duarte de Lemos brought disappointing intelligence of the supposed fate of the Governor's nephew, D. Afonso de Noronha, who had sailed in the *Sancta Cruz* for India in the previous April, and had been heard of no more. But almost immediately afterwards an ambassador from the King of Cambaya[1] brought a letter to Afonso Dalboquerque from the shipwrecked party detailing the loss of their ships by a storm at Nabande, a Guzarate port, and another letter from Gopicaiça, Chief *Alguazil* of the King of Cambaya, to Afonso Dalboquerque, the receipt of which offended Duarte de Lemos, who considered that Cambaya lay within the limits of his jurisdiction. From this time forward Duarte de Lemos, Jeronymo Teixeira, and Francisco de Sá intrigued against their chief.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied to the missive in amicable terms, the letter being dated from Cananor,

[1] For an early account of Cambaya, with useful notes, see Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, page 389.

on the 16th of September; and organised two detachments of three vessels each, under Simão Martinz and Garcia de Sousa, to cruise about and intercept vessels coming from the Red Sea to India. Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos was by this time become very desirous of going on to Malaca, and a council was held in which the advantages for his remaining with the Governor in order to co-operate in the projected expedition to Goa were discussed and adopted. On the 8th of September, Lourenço Moreno arrived from Portugal, in advance of the fleet of Gonçalo de Siqueira, of which his ship formed part, as already mentioned; and he was dispatched to conclude a treaty with the rulers of Baticalá, and to carry a letter to Timoja at Onor, advising him to be ready to take part in the second attack on Goa.

The cruise of Simão Martinz resulted in the capture of a Mecca ship bound for Calicut, in which were two Castilian Jews, from whom the interesting news was obtained that the Grand Sultan would not be able to attend to Indian Affairs for the present year on account of internal dissensions, and that they had met Fernão Gomez[1] at Suakim *en route* for Judá. Some particulars of the ensuing adventures of these two Jews are also recorded at this place in the text.

On the 16th of September, Gonçalo de Sequeira arrived at Cananor, bringing orders from Portugal for the return of Duarte de Lemos and the incorporation of his fleet and men with those already under Afonso Dalboquerque. A meeting was held wherein it was

[1] See above, page lvii.

decided that a combined effort should be made to regain possession of Goa; and in consequence of a communication from the friendly King of Cochim, the Governor left Duarte de Lemos as Vice-Governor at Cananor, and proceeded to Cochim with all his forces on the 22nd of September, arriving four days later on, and establishing the newly acceded king on the throne of his late uncle, in accordance with the Indian law of succession.[1]

At Cochim another deliberation was held, which appears to have been on the 10th of October, 1510, according to the Preface to Lord Stanley's *Correa*, page xxi, where the text of the original document in the Torre do Tombo is translated, and the opposition of the celebrated Magellan to the plans of the Governor indicated. This council discussed the advisability of the crews of the ships of burden going to the fight at Goa, while their cargoes were completed at Cochim, and from the document we gather the following names of those present at the council, nearly all, if not quite all of whom were comprised in the list of Alboquerque's fleet against Goa:—Nuno Vaz, captain of the ship captured from the Rumes; Antonio da Costa, of *Rey Pequeno*; Duarte da Silva, of the Great Galley; Simão Martins; Dom João de Lima, of the *S. Maria d'Ajuda*; Sebastião de Miranda, of the Little Galley; Fernão de Magalhães; Jeronimo Teixeira of the *S. Maria do Campo*; Jorge da Silveira; Francisco de Sousa, of the *Boa Ventura*; Manuel da Cunha; Garcia de Sousa, in the *Santa Clara*; Francisco Cor-

[1] See pages 77, 78.

vinel in the *Sant Jago*; Lourenço de Paiva; Antonio Real, chief alcalde of Cochim; and Gonçalo de Sequeira.

The last named Chief Captain was adverse to the proposal of taking the ships of burden to Goa, but Afonso Dalboquerque, who had already determined to let nothing delay his enterprise, declared his intention of starting with those who chose to go with him voluntarily; and proceeded to Cananor, where he found Lourenço, who had returned from Baticalá, where he had been unable to settle the terms of the projected treaty, and with news of the preparations of Timoja and the King of Garçopa for co-operating in the attack on Goa. This second part of the *Commentaries* concludes with the dispatch of Lourenço Moreno to Cochim, and of Duarte de Lemos as Chief Captain of seven ships to Portugal with the rare freight of three elephants as an offering to the king.

The beginning of Afonso Dalboquerque's career is thus in these volumes for the first time presented to the English reader in the form of a literal translation from the Portuguese *Commentaries*, the present volume bringing down the events of his life to the repulse at Goa, and the eve of the second and successful attack. The details of the attack, the consolidation of Portuguese power in the city as a capital of that nation's Indian Empire, the capture of Malaca, the taking of the fortress of Ormuz, Dalboquerque's battles and wars on the Arabian coast, his preparations for settling the factory and Portuguese fortress at Ormuz, and his death on shipboard at the bar of Goa on the 16th December, 1515, form the leading themes of the

concluding parts of the work, and it would be premature to dilate upon these subjects on this occasion.

The principal events in the history of Portuguese India subsequent to the death of this great Governor must be told here in very few words, for the reigns of Emmanuel and João III have been described by many writers as the golden age of Portuguese India; the reigns of Sebiastião and Philip II, the silver age; and subsequent reigns down to the loss of Cochim, when a fatal blow was dealt once and for ever to Portuguese rule in India, the age of wars. During the rule of Lopo Vas de Sampayo, the governor appointed in 1526, parts of the Moluccas, Mangalor on the Malabar Coast, and the island of Maim or Bombay, were taken possession of by the Portuguese; and in 1529, Nuno da Cunha succeeded as Governor. He took the cities of Baçaim and Damão from Bahadur Shah, King of Guzerat, and afterwards the fortress and Island of Diu. In 1539, Estevão da Gama was Governor of Goa. He is illustrious for his successful expedition into the Red Sea, penetrating to Mount Sinai, where, at the Shrine of St. Catherine, patroness of Goa, he caused himself and his companions to be knighted. The celebrated João de Castro, the history of whose deeds requires a separate treatment at the hands of the Hakluyt Society, was Governor of Goa in 1545. His great fame rests upon the relief of Diu, when João de Mascarenhas,[1] the governor of that fortress, was besieged.

[1] There is an unpublished life of this hero among the Altamira MSS., in the British Museum.—Add. MS., No. 28,460.

On the resumption of the siege of Diu by the King of Cambaya, D. João de Castro inflicted upon that potentate a disastrous defeat, and conquered the whole kingdom of Diu in 1547. The life of this great man has been carefully written by Jacinto Freyre de Andrada, and an English translation of this valuable literary work would be worthy to be issued under the auspices of the Hakluyt Society, which has done so much towards the elucidation of the doings of the Portuguese both in the Old World and the New. During the Viceroyalty of Luiz de Ataide (1568), Goa was besieged by Ali Idalshaw or Hidalkhan, King of Bijapoor.

The close of the sixteenth century is memorable in the history of Portuguese India for the endeavour to reconcile the heretical Syrian Church of Travancore to Rome.[1] During the Viceroyalty of João de Silva Telles de Menezes, Goa was attacked by the Dutch, and from this time the decline of Goa became a matter of a few years; Cochim and the settlements of the coast of Malabar falling to the same nation between 1662 and 1666.

The causes of the decay of Portuguese power in India, and indeed throughout the East, where at one time they were all powerful, are too manifold to be

[1] The chief authorities, according to Mr. Tolbort (whose work will be described further on), are:—Gouvea, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa;* D. Fr. Aleixo de Meneses, *As Terras de Malabar;* Geddes, *History of the Church of Malabar;* La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes;* and other works by Hough, Lee, Howard, and Day.

explained at length in this place. This fall of power was principally induced by the neglect of the merchants properly to provide for the markets of Europe, a work which, although vitally necessary to the maintenance of their position, was left to other more enthusiastic, and by this time more political, nations. Hence arose the powerful competition of Spain, Holland, England, France, and Denmark, all of which countries entered into mercantile relations with India and America. In the first voyage round the world, in 1519, the Portuguese Magalhães, in Spanish service, discovered the only other possible route to India, through the Straits justly named after him, where he visited the Moluccas and Philippines, and in that latter group he met his death in 1521. Spain occupied the fruitful Philippine Islands in 1564, and before the sixteenth century closed, the English, after despairing of the achievement of finding a north-east or north-west passage, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and by this act initiated their present proud position in the continent of India.

By means of this great accession of commerce throughout Europe, the maritime power of the European nations gradually assumed more powerful proportions, arts and manufactures were stimulated, poor countries became rich, and in improved commerce were found at length the only resources for adding to the strength and influence of empires, and the only means of carrying out imperial plans of aggrandisement and extension. The most powerful rival, and the one that did the most to cast down the paramount

Lusitanian supremacy in the East, was Holland; for while England was struggling for that political freedom without which the English merchant service could not exercise any vital functions, the Dutch, who had passed through this political trial, and had already erected their kingdom into a free republic, were the real masters of the sea. The middle of the sixteenth century beheld them in the height of their maritime glory, and their vessels in every quarter of the world; and at this period, although the British navy showed some signs of improvement, the East India Company were hardly able to cope with the Portuguese and Dutch in India. "And it was feared that the Company would not, in their commercial operations, be able to contend successfully with the formidable Dutch and Portuguese monopolies which had been established in the East; and though Portugal and Spain were then beginning to decline from the exalted position they had so long held, Holland, in possession of public liberty and a wise system of commerce, was in the zenith of her commercial and maritime greatness."[1]

But if, as some have declared, the natives of India rejoiced when the overwhelming forces of Holland shattered the ascendancy of the Portuguese in the East, at any rate, the people of India, in their freedom from the yoke of their former masters, found little cause to congratulate themselves upon the change of oppressors. The Portuguese found themselves ousted from the Japan trade in 1638, and surrendered Ceylon in 1658; while at the same time the Dutch colonies at

[1] W. S. Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping*, ii, 173, 174.

the Cape of Good Hope were most conveniently situated as a place of rendezvous for their eastward-bound shipping, the extent and character of which contrasted favourably with that of any other maritime nation at this time. The reader who would read a lucid exposition of the struggles of the English against the Dutch, who, after overcoming the Portuguese, and maintaining by their maritime superiority a long sustained ascendancy in India, were forced in turn to yield before our advance, must be referred to Mr. Lindsay's work, which I have already had occasion to quote on more than one occasion.

The history of the island fortress of Goa, which the fearless bravery of Afonso Dalboquerque wrested from the native powers, led by Adilshaw or Idalkan (or as the writer of the *Commentaries* always calls this prince "O Hidalcão," the Hidalcão), is naturally very much mixed up with the general history of the Portuguese possessions in the East (of which it was, and is, the capital), but it may be well made out by the student of Indian topographical antiquities, from the very full and lucid description given by Pedro Barreto de Resende in the Sloane MS. 197, folios 244-276,[1] a work which I have frequently consulted during the work of translating the text of the *Commentaries*.

The best work solely devoted to the history of Goa is that written by the Rev. Denis Louis Cottineau de Kloguen, who was a native of Nantes. His desire for a knowledge of the world made him quit his country for England and America. His stay in the

[1] Including notices of Bardes and Mormugam.

former of these places was not long comparatively with the latter, where he resided in the city of Baltimore for the period of ten years. From America Cottineau returned to France; he soon however left, and proceeded to the Isle of Bourbon, in which place he resided for several years, and was admitted a member of the Philotechnical Society. He afterwards set out for the Island of Bombay, where he resided for a long while, and became one of the members of the Bombay Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society. In this place he commenced and completed in French, his native language, a history of India, from the earliest times down to the year he wrote; as also the work on Goa, from which I shall give some extracts. Shortly before his demise, he proceeded overland to Madras, with an intention of going thence to Calcutta, both which Presidencies he was anxious to see before he should leave India and return to France for the last time, which it was in his contemplation to do; but worn out with the travels he had performed in countries whose climates are so prejudicial to European health, he died on the 11th of February, 1830, at Karrical, a French settlement about a hundred and seventy-eight miles distant from Madras.

The title to Cottineau de Kloguen's work is as follows:

> "An Historical Sketch of Goa, the Metropolis of the Portuguese Settlements in India; with an Account of the present state of that celebrated City, and of the surrounding Territories under its immediate Jurisdiction, collected from the most authentic sources, and

Undertaken and dedicated to His Excellency The Honorable Major-General Sir John Malcolm, K.C.B., and K.L.S., and the Members of the Bombay Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society, by the late Reverend Denis L. Cottineau de Kloguen, Honorary Member of the same Society, of the Madras Literary Society, and of the Philotechnical Society of the Island of Bourbon, Madras; Printed for the Proprietor, by William Twigg, at the Gazette Press, 1831."

The book commences with a section devoted to the history of Goa, and contains the following interesting passage with regard to the authorities consulted :

"I have taken care, of course, to consult the original authors as much as possible, but unfortunately I found still much wanting in my researches. In the first place the earthquake which destroyed Lisbon, having been the cause of the loss of many ancient books and records, orders were issued to have a great part of those extant in the colonies, and chiefly in Goa, transported to Europe. Subsequent to this, the dark policy of the Marquis of Pombal, the Prime Minister of King Joseph, assisted by the misguided prelate whom he had raised to the see of Goa, despoiled anew the library of the Archbishopric of its most valuable books and manuscripts; and many of those that remain have been partially destroyed by those insects so prejudicial to books and libraries in India.

* * * * *

"§ i. *Historical Sketch of the Town, &c.*—We find the first mention of Goa in Ferishta's history of the Deccan, under the reign of Mujahid Shaw, the 3rd Emperor of the Bhamani dynasty, who began his reign

in 1374. Goa is said to have been a seaport, appertaining then, as it did for near a century afterwards, to the kings or roys of Beejanuger.

"We know by tradition transmitted by the natives to the first Portuguese settlers, that the Hindoo religion was then the only one professed in the island. In 1469, according to the same author, Mullek-ul-Tijur Khaje Jehan, general Vizier and Prime Minister of Shumse or Mahomet II, the 13th Bhamani Emperor of the Deccan, took the island of Goa from Humrajee, regent of Beejanuger, who governed that kingdom during the minority of the sons of Severoy. The Deccanese monarch ordered great rejoicings on this occasion, and rendered great honours to his Minister. At his request he gave the government of the new conquered place to Kishwer Khan, one of his officers who had distinguished himself in the conquest. Three years after, Perkna, Rajah of Belgoan, at the instigation of the regent of Beejanuger, came to retake Goa; but the Sultan of the Deccan marched in person in its defence, and having attacked Belgoan, forced the Rajah to retire in order to defend his capital. In 1479, according to Antonio de Sousa in his *Oriente Conquistado*, Miguel Oum, at the head of the Mahometans of Onor, persecuted by the Rajah of that place, who was tributary to Beejanuger, retired to Goa, under the protection of the Deccanese Sovereign, who professed the same religion. It is then that Goa was built in its present place; for before that period the town stood near two miles to the southward, about the centre of the island, and nearer to the southern shore. Of that

first town there remain at present but some wretched hovels around the parochial church of St. Andrew, but the spot is still known by the appellation of *Old Goa*, which modern travellers have, of late, improperly applied to Goa itself. This new town, built by the Moors or Mahometans on the N. shore of the island, opposite to that of Divar, soon became a very flourishing place by the excellence of its harbour; but it was not very extensive, according to the Dutch traveller Linschoten, who tells us that in 1583, when he arrived in Goa, the walls thereof were still standing, though the gates had been pulled down to facilitate the communication with the new built part of the city. He informs us that the walls of Goa, built by the Mahometans, were defended by a dry ditch, but he does not describe the exact extent of the ancient town; he only says that in his time it was twice larger. However, from what he and other travellers say, and from my own observations on the spot, I suppose that its length along the shore from E. to W. was from the old Custom House, the palace of the Governor, and the convent of St. Cajetan, to the small inlet that still separates Goa from the suburb of St. Peter or Pannely, including therefore not only the arsenal, but the College of St. Bonaventure, which latter must have been built on the ruins of the ancient walls. Towards the S. the town must have been bounded by the mountain of the Rosary, and the other rising ground back of the convent of *Bom-Jesus* and the present Bazaar. According to this supposition, which appears the most plausible, the city must have been hardly three-quarters

mile in length, and not a quarter in breadth. Soon after the migration of the Moors, the empire of the Deccan having undergone a new division of government by the advice of Mulek-ul-Tijur, Goa fell to the lot of Fukhir-ul-Moolk; but in 1486 a certain officer named Bahadur Gelauce, got the command of the town by intrigue and violence. In 1495, that usurper having been slain in a battle against Mahmood, Emperor of the Deccan, the government was given to one Mullek-Eia-al-Moolk, whose son and successor, bearing the same name, acknowledged himself, in 1497, the vassal of Adilshaw or Idalkhan, as the Portuguese call him, but who had since 1489 declared himself King or Sultan of Bijapoor, though he still nominally acknowledged the supremacy of the Deccanese monarch. Such was the state of Goa, when Vasco de Gama landed at Calicut, with the first Portuguese fleet that had yet appeared in India. When the Admiral was about to return to Portugal, a Polonian Jew, giving himself out for an Italian, and Prime Minister to Zabajo, King of Goa, came to offer him the alliance of his master; but he was found out afterwards to be a spy and an impostor, and was taken to Portugal, where he embraced the Christian religion, and having had Gama himself for his godfather, took the name of Gaspar de Gama. The story of this Jew is certain, and this circumstance, related by the Portuguese, seems to contradict the account of Ferishta; but besides that the Jew, having been an impostor, might have said what he pleased, and given any name to the pretended King of Goa, it is not impossible that the Portuguese

authors have disfigured the name, according to their custom; and that the king in question was either Mullek-Eia-al-Moolk, or Adilshaw himself, whom they call afterwards actually King of Goa, as they also call him King of Balagate; even as they describe the Sultan of Ahmednugur King of Chowl, and that of Guzerat King of Cambay. The truth is that Adilshaw, or Idal-khan, particularly desired the residence of Goa; and state reasons alone prevented him from transporting the seat of his Government thither from Bijapore. This predilection, the affluence of the Mahometans, and the liberty of commerce, greatly augmented the prosperity of Goa, and determined the great Alfonso de Alboquerque to undertake the conquest of that important place, and make it the metropolis and emporium of his countrymen in the East."

The second section consists of a "chronological table of the Viceroys and Governors of Goa and Portuguese India . . . with the most memorable events in each administration". The biographical sketches of João de Castro, Constantine de Braganza, Pedro de Mascarenhas, under whose period the Portuguese experienced great losses, and Emanuel de Saldanha de Albuquerque, Count of Ega, in this portion of the work, are worthy of notice.

The third section contains "Religious establishments, proceedings, and documents concerning the erection of the episcopal, and afterwards the archiepiscopal, see of Goa, the chronology of its bishops and archbishops, its provincial councils, the

erection of its religious buildings and religious institutions." This part is also arranged in order of chronology, and notices the causes of the adoption of St. Catherine, virgin and martyr, as the patroness of Goa; the foundation of the convent of the Franciscan Observantines, the first spiritual pastors in Goa, and that of the Dominican church of "Our Lady of the Rosary". In 1515, Pope Leo X erected the bishopric of Funchal, in Madeira, to comprehend within its diocese all Portuguese possessions beyond the seas; Pope Clement VII made this an archiepiscopal or metropolitan see in 1533; and in 1534, Paul III erected the bishopric of Goa, to embrace all the territory held by Portugal from the Cape of Good Hope to the extreme East, and to form a diocese subject to the Archbishop of Madeira; but this latter, with its suffragans of Angra, Goa, etc., soon became a simple bishopric, forming part of the Ecclesiastical Province of the Archbishop of Lisbon. The doings of the Church, the Jesuits, and other missionaries—especially St. Francis Xavier—in Goa, are minutely chronicled by the author in this part of the work.

The fourth section embraces a "Topographical and statistical description of the city and island of Goa in their present state, as likewise of the two Provinces of Salsette and Bardes, and of the new surrounding provinces." Of the actual extent and the state of Goa, Cottineau de Kloguen says: "The present city, improperly called *Old Goa* by foreigners, was built on the northern shore of the island that bears its name, and which is also called *Tissuary*, or im-

properly a river, but which is in fact an arm of the sea, separating the island, on the south, from the peninsula of Bardes and the islands of Charão and Divar on the north. The city is directly opposite this last-mentioned island, and, of course, by more than one-half nearer to the eastern than to the western extremity of the Island of Goa. Its centre is about six miles distant from the ocean. Its length from E. to W. is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, not including the suburbs of Dowji [or Daujim], on the E. and of St. Peter or Pannely on the W. It extends in breadth from the shore or quay up to the top of the hill on which the church of Luz is situated, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, presenting, therefore, an extent of $3\frac{3}{4}$ sq. m. . . . . The whole road between Goa and the new capital Pangi is wholly bordered with houses. Goa never had any walls on the E. and S.; those that begin in the suburb of Little Dowji, and which extend along the E. shore of the island were extended by the Viceroy Antonio de Noronha (1564-1568), their founder, to defend the weak part of the island, and never were considered as the ramparts of the city. . . . One coming from Pangi, and seeing afar off the numerous churches of Goa with their towers and spires, and the handsome and neat houses of Pannely, would really think that he is going to enter a superb metropolis; but he is strangely disappointed as soon as he approaches, finding himself suddenly transported into the midst of a desert."

After describing the statistics of the five parishes; the population, which is given about 8,200 inhabitants;

the civil edifices; the Church of St. Catharine, erected into a Cathedral in 1534; the collegiate and parish churches; the inquisition (suppressed in 1812), and the ecclesiastical courts; the author proceeds to notice the various convents and religious orders, or Franciscans, Jesuits, Theatines, Augustinians, Carmelites, Theatins of the Cajetan of Threnna, and others which flourish in the island of Goa: and the section concludes with an account of Pangi and the neighbouring villages, viz., Ribandar, between Pangi and Panaoly; St. Agnes, west of Pangi; the island of Chorão, opposite to Ribandar; that of Divar, S.E. of Chorão; that of Jua, N.E. of Divar; and that of Combarjua to the S. of Jua; Salsette, a province or peninsula, S. and S.E. of Goa; Bardes province, extending from N. to S. along the coast, to the N.W. of the island of Goa; and other seven new provinces of later formation. The fifth and concluding section is devoted to the "State of the Population, Government, Religion, Public Instruction, Revenues, Commerce, and Manners of the Inhabitants at the present time", with some interesting remarks on the different castes existing in the country. It is unnecessary to allude further to that portion of the work which does not concern the period of Affonso Dalboquerque.

A very useful addition to the history of Goa, by way of supplement to that of Couto and de Klogman, is a paper "On the Portuguese Settlements in India", by T. W. H. Tolbart, Esq., of the Indian Civil Service, printed in the "Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" for June 1874. In it are the principal returns

historical interest concerning the three existing settlements of Damaun, Diu, and Goa, are briefly described. Of Goa Mr. Tolbort writes:

"The changes since Cottineau's time are not so great as might have been expected. The buildings in Old Goa are mostly of laterite, and the damage caused by each year's monsoon must be considerable; still, many of the ruins are well preserved. Three miles up the river, is the church of the *Reis Magos*. Beyond this is New Goa or Panjim, which was an important suburb even in ancient days, and which supplanted Goa as the capital in 1765. One of its churches, I believe that of N. S. da Conceição, stands on an elevation overlooking the town. It appears to have been built in the beginning of the 17th century, as it contains inscriptions as early as 1634. *In the principal square is a statue of Albuquerque.* This statue, now black with age, was removed to Panjim from Old Goa in 1810. *In Tyrard's time it stood* in front of the church '*da Serra*' near that '*da Misericordia*'. The figure is that of a man rather below middle height, with a long beard, his elbows steadied on a rod, his hands resting in front. . . . . *that Valley* must not be confounded with the ruins of the Portuguese city known as the Old Goa. It is the site of a yet more ancient city occupied by Hindus and Muhammadans in times long prior to Portuguese conquest. . . . . The distance from Panjim to Goa itself is about six miles. The road crosses a bridge built by the Count of Linhares in 1634, and then traverses a causeway about two miles long, having the shore of the estuary, or *Rio de Goa*, on the left and an expanse of marshy meadow land on the right. The causeway was built in 1775. At the end of the causeway is the village or suburb of Ribandar, then that of Pannely, and then Goa. Goa, however, provided wind and tide are favourable, is more easily and pleasantly reached from Panjim by water. . . .

A road leads from the landing place to the principal gate. Of this, all that remains standing is the Viceroy's gate...

founded in the first instance by Albuquerque himself. Over the gateway is a statue of Vasco da Gama, erected by his grandson in 1600."

Then follow some valuable notes of the various edifices in the city, with their dates of erection, and principal monumental inscriptions, and the treatise concludes with notices of Baçaim and Cochim, "two places renowned in early Portuguese history, though now held by the English."

I now propose to direct the attention of the reader to some concluding remarks concerning the bibliography of Portuguese-Indian literature. These must necessarily be very brief, because I have already exceeded the limits to which I am here restricted.

The period of Portuguese power in India—upwards of two centuries and a half if taken from the voyage of Vasco da Gama to the Dutch conquest of Cochim—naturally afforded an ample field for the historiographers of the Lusitanian nation, and consequently we find the *Bibliotheca Lusitana Historica, Critica, e Chronologica*, of Diogo Barbosa Machado, printed at Lisbon in two folio volumes in 1741-1747, filled page after page with the names of authors and titles of works devoted to this prolific and nationally interesting subject.[1] But it is not my desire to treat of these,

[1] A very useful paper on this subject (which I have followed in my remarks on these authors), entitled "Authorities for the History of the Portuguese in India", by T. W. H. Tolbort, Esq., B.C.S., will be found in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xlii, Part I, 1873, pp. 193-208. This article contains notices of a large number of works touching the history of India, and deserves a place among the existing bibliographies of that country.

but rather to indicate, in a chronological order, the principal and most valuable authors, leaving it to the reader who desires more specific information to consult the great work just mentioned. Barros in his monumental work, the *Decades of Asia*, gives a succinct account of the Portuguese discoveries before the memorable voyage of Vasco da Gama. The oldest writer of the general history is *Gaspar Correa*. His work, entitled *Lendas da India*, was compiled about the year 1561, but was not printed until 1858-1864, when the Royal Academy of Lisbon issued it in three quarto volumes. This work,—from which the Hon. H. Stanley (now Lord Stanley of Alderley) translated the *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, for the Hakluyt Society—has been considered very useful, and second only in veracity and importance to the *Decades* of Barros; and as a full account of the author and his works will be found in the *Voyages* mentioned above, it is unnecessary to repeat it here. Correa went to India about 1512, and there served under Afonso Dalboquerque; and from that period to 1550 it may be considered that he was moving about as an eye-witness of, and not unfrequently taking part in, the events he undertakes to describe; the parts descriptive of previous doings of the Portuguese having been derived in some measure from a manuscript work by João Figueiroa, a Portuguese priest who accompanied Vasco da Gama. Correa's work, as printed by the Lisbon Academy, contains the following illustrations which serve to elucidate the history of Afonso Dalboquerque, (1) a Portrait of Afonso, as frontispiece to

tom. ii ; (2) View of Mallaqua, tom. ii, pt. 1, p. 250 ; (3) Portuguese Fortress of Calequu or Calicut, p. 330 ; (4) Adem, p. 342 ; (5) Coullam, p. 394 ; (6) Ormuz, p. 439 ; (7) Judá, p. 494 ; (8) Ceilam, p. 541 ; (9) Portrait of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, p. 555 ; (10) View of Cananor, tom. iii, p. 17 ; (11) Challe, p. 438 ; (12) Diu, p. 625 ; and (13) Basaim, p. 689.

Place appears to be required here for the manuscript *Historia do Descubrimento e Primeiras Conquistas da India*, which has been described in the Introduction to vol. i, pp. xiii-xv, and p. 101 of the *Commentaries*.

The next author for the general history is João de Barros. He is not known to have visited India, but the opportunities of his official position in the Lisbon India Office peculiarly fitted him for this work, which is entitled *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses Fizerão no Descobrimento e Conquista dos Mares e Terras do Oriente. Decadas* i-iii, iv (incomplete). It was first printed in folio at Lisbon in 1552, and again in 1628 and 1777 ; and is generally admitted to be the best authority upon the matters to which it relates. D. Barbosa Michado records several subsequent editions.[1]

Of Diogo de Couto, whose history overlaps and continues that of João de Barros, Mr. Tolbort writes : "De Couto[2] served in India, and though his portion of the history is not considered equal to that written by Barros, it is the best we have for the latter half of the sixteenth century. The fourth Decade by Barros comes down to the death of Nuno da Cunha in 1539, but as this Decade had not appeared when De Couto com-

[1] *Bibl. Lus.*, ii, 606. [2] Page 194.

menced his continuation, he began twelve years earlier, bringing the continuation down to 1600. The joint history of De Barros and De Couto consists of twenty-four octavo volumes, there being, for the reason above stated, a duplicate account of the twelve years comprised in the governments of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo and Nuno da Cunha." The title of De Couto's continuation of Barros, is *Decada Quarta da Asia, dos feitos que, etc.*, as given above; printed in folio at Lisbon in 1602; the 5th and 6th Decade, 1612; the 7th [8th, 9th, 10th],[1] 1616; and five books of the 12th Decade, in Paris, 1645. From Faria y Sousa it appears that there is a MS. continuation of De Couto's work by Antonio Boccaro. Diogo de Couto wrote other works of minor import, and among these orations to incoming viceroys; a life of the celebrated Captain D. Paul de Lima; and a treatise entitled the *Soldado Pratico*, in which he exposes the causes of Portuguese decadence in India, in the shape of a dialogue between a soldier and a viceroy. A complete digest of this will be found in the Introduction to Lord Stanley's *Correa*, pp. lxvii, *et seq.* There is a work in the British Museum Library, entitled *Observações sobre as Principaes Causas da Decadencia dos Portugueses na Asia*, 4to, Lisbon, 1790, which is the same as that called the *Soldado Pratico* in the previous sentence.

Fernão Lopez de Castanheda, the next general historian in this series, visited India in 1528, and is said

[1] These three decades in MS., in the British Museum copy.

to have travelled over all the districts of that empire under Portuguese domination, with the desire of obtaining correct information for his literary labours. Castanheda's work is entitled *Historia do Descobrimento & Conquista da India pelos Portugueses.* It consists of eight books, and was published in folio at Coimbra, 1551-1561 ; the narrative running down to the first siege of Diu in 1538, and so covering nearly the same space of time as the previous work of João de Barros. Mr. Tolbort states that Castanheda intended to publish ten books, but the last two seem to have been suppressed because they reflected upon some powerful people of the Portuguese Court. But from a list furnished to him by Senhor da Cunha Rivara, secretary to the Portuguese Government at Goa, it appears that this work is brought down to the year before the commencement of publication. The first book of Castanheda appears to have been translated into French by Nicholas de Grouchy, and published in 8vo. Anvers, 1554 ; and the same book was again printed in quarto at London in 1582, in form of an English translation—the first English translation of any work of this series of authors—by a "gentleman" named Nicholas Lichefeld under the title of *The First Booke of the Historie of the Discouerie and Conquest of the East Indias, enterprised by the Portingales, in their daungerous Nauigations, in the time of the King Dom John the second of that name.* It is to be desired that the time may not be far distant when English translations of all these original histories shall have been prepared and printed.

The next name on this list of Indian historians[1] is that of a foreign Jesuit, Johannes Petrus Maffei, whose work (in Latin) is entitled *Historiæ Indicæ, cum Ignatii Loyolæ vita.* This was printed in folio at Cologne in 1589, and again in 1593. It is believed to be based on the work of Barros, and is carried down to 1557, being divided into sixteen books, with an appendix of four books of *Epistolæ Indicæ*, or selected letters from India. Maffei was, also, the author of the *Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente gestarum Volumen*, 8vo. Colon. 1574.

The Benedictine Fr. Antonio de San Roman followed apparently in the footsteps of Maffei. His work is thus entitled *Historia General de la India Oriental.* It was printed in form of a folio at Valladolid in 1603.

Another work,[2] also in the Spanish language, is that of Luys Coello de Barbuda, with the title of *Emprezas Militares de Lusitanos*, in quarto, printed at Lisbon in 1624.

The *Livro*[3] *do Estado da India Oriental* by Captain Pedro Barreto de Resende, in 1646, from which much assistance has been acquired during the progress of this translation, has been fully described in the Introduction to vol. i, pp. vii-xiii.

The next author is Faria y Sousa, or Manoel Severim de Faria; the work being entitled *Asia Por-*

[1] Titles of the works of Maffei, and their various editions and translations form No. 11, 11*bis*, of M. Léon Pagès' *Bibliographie Japonaise*, which will be noticed further on.

[2] Omitted by Mr. Tolbort.

[3] Also omitted by the same writer.

tuguesa, and beginning at the early voyages is carried down to 1640. It was printed in three volumes of folio size at Lisbon in 1666-1675, and has been also published in Spanish. Mr. Tolbort describes an English translation from the Spanish text in 1695. The description of China by Faria y Sousa is founded on the *Memoirs* of Semedo, and is valuable for the history of the China mission. M. Severim de Faria was the author of many other historical works; his *Africa Portuguesa* was translated into English by Captain John Stevens, three volumes, 8vo, London, 1695.

The last of the general historians is the Reverend Father Joseph Lafitau, a Jesuit like his literary predecessor Maffei. His Portuguese researches are entitled *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquestes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde.* It was published at Paris in two volumes in 1733, and is a very interesting and well written work, but does not pretend to give any great amount of detail.[1]

After the consideration of these comprehensive writers, it is very necessary to put on record the titles of some bibliographical and other works which treat of Indian matters incidentally, or of special subjects and particular events.

I am not aware of the existence of any work partaking solely of the nature of a *Bibliotheca Indica*, but the best Bibliographies for the prolific subject of European rule in India are the following: D. Barbosa

[1] In the Introduction to Vol. i, I have considered Grenville's statement that the first volume of Lafitau is translated from the *Commentaries* of Afonso Dalboquerque.

Machado's *Bibliotheca*, to which already references have often been made. The classified indices in this book greatly augment its literary value for reference and research. A very large portion of it, however, consists of notices of historical works, both manuscript and printed, which are unfortunately not available beyond the limits of the native libraries of Portugal.

Raphael Savonarola's work entitled *Universus Terrarum Orbis scriptorum Calamo delineatus, hoc est, Auctorum fere omnium qui de Europæ, Asiæ, ... regnis, etc. . . . scripserunt . . . . uberrimus elenchus, etc.*, and published with the name of the author arranged as an anagram, *Alphonsi Lasor a Varea*, Patavii, 1713, two vols., folio, contains notices of the titles of a large number of early books treating upon the prolific subject of India—travels, voyages, and histories. The titles are given under the names of the places to which they refer. The work is adorned with several copper-plate engravings of cities and towns, from an old collection of maps, plans, and views originally published about the year 1600. Among these may be mentioned Calechut, vol. i, p. 219; Canonor, vol. i, p. 226; Goa, vol. i, p. 452; and Ormus, vol. i, p. 94, which illustrate the period of the *Commentaries*.

One of the most comprehensive Bibliographical works that belong to this class is the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, ou Notice complète et raisonnée de tous les Voyages anciens et modernes dans les différentes parties du monde, etc.* Par G. Boucher

de la Richarderie, in six vols. 8vo, Paris, 1808. The portions which relate to India are contained in the

Ie. Partie. § ii, Navigations et Voyages chez les anciens (vol i, p. 15).
§ iv, 1. Voyages faits en Orient dans le moyen âge (vol. i, p. 32).
§ iv, Collections de Voyages (*ib.* p. 55).
§ vi, Voyages autour du monde (*ib.* p. 107).
§ viii, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, Voyages dans différentes parties du monde (*ib.* p. 179, etc.)

IVe Partie. § vi, Description des Indes Orientales. Voyages faits dans ce pays (vol. v, p. 1, etc.)

The *Bibliothèque Asiatique et Africaine, ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Asie et à l'Afrique qui ont paru depuis la Découverte de l'imprimerie jusqu'en* 1700, by H. Ternaux-Compans, 8vo, Paris, 1841, consists of many hundred references and titles of books, arranged in chronological order, and exhibits an untiring labour on the part of the compiler. Its usefulness would perhaps have been greater if the Bibliography of the two great continents of Asia and Africa had been kept separate, or printed in different type, to catch the eye of the reader.

I have not been able to inspect a copy of the *Bibliothèque Géographique*, by M. Le Breton, in seventy-two volumes, 18mo, published in Paris, 1802-1807; from the title it would appear to be useful for matters relating to Indian Bibliography.

Mention must also be made of the *Bibliographie Japonaise, ou Catalogue des Ouvrages Relatifs au Japon, qui ont été publiés depuis le XVe Siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, rédigé par M. Léon Pagès, ancien Attaché de Légation, large quarto, Paris, 1859. Although this most useful book is specially devoted to Japanese history, it contains a vast number of entries relating to Portuguese India; Japan, like that continent, being connected with Portugal by the exertions of the Jesuits and other propagandist missionaries, by the fame and labours of St. Francisco Xavier, and by the zeal of travellers and traders. Hence the books which treat of the one, in many cases do not fail to throw some light upon the other empire. The works included in the chronological series commence with Marco Polo[1] in 1496, and are arranged in order of chronology, with an appendix of "Documents Manuscrits", and a "Table Analytique" of names and subjects.

In the text, prefixed to the *Royal Illustrated Atlas of Modern Geography*, will be found comprehensive classified lists of (i) Collections and Histories of Voyages and Travels, p. 5; (xxiii) Voyages and Travels in Asia, p. 65; and (xxiv) Voyages and Travels, etc., in

[1] I am happily enabled to add the description of one MS. of *Marco Polo*, which has been, by some accident omitted in both editions by Col. Yule:—1871, vol. ii, p. 449, and 1874, vol. ii, p. 517. This is a Latin copy of quarto size, on vellum, of the fourteenth century, ending abruptly towards the end of Book III, chap. xvii, at the words—"ne possint ab homine vel a bestia". It has been in the British Museum since April 1853, when it was purchased at Baron Walckenaer's sale at Paris, lot 3385; and is now numbered, Additional MS. 19513, folios 85 to 132.

India, pp. 68-78, by Dr. N. Shaw, Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society. The entries relating to India are especially numerous, and are useful because they are brought down to a more modern period than that which limits other catalogues. At the same time it is to be remarked that Dr. Shaw has failed to give the correct title to the first edition of the *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque* (p. 68, col. 1).

The entries in the new General Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum ; the Classed Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum ;[1] the Catalogue of the Library of the East India House ; the Classified Catalogue of Books of the Royal Geographical Society, p. 229, published in 1871 ; and many other catalogues of similar institutions, must be carefully examined by the student who desires to perfect

[1] The principal classes are :—

India, History of, Vol. iii, p. 455.
„ Portuguese, *ibid.*, p. 457.
„ Topography of, Vol. lviii, p. 385.
„ Travels in, *ibid.*, p. 117.
„ Transactions with Great Britain, Vol. vii, pp. 197, 277.
„ Army of, Vol. l, p. 557.
„ Religious Houses in the Indies, Vol. lxxix, p. 217.
„ Voyages to, Vol. lviii, p. 175.
„ Church History of, Vol. v, p. 135.

There is a very fine collection of forty volumes of Portuguese papers in the British Museum, entitled *Collecçam authentica de todas as Leys, Regimentos, Alvaras, e mais Ordens que se expediram para a India desde o estabelecimento destas conquistas, etc.*, 1518-1758 (Add. MS., 20861-20900). They are followed by fourteen other volumes of papers and miscellaneous documents of great importance in the History of Portuguese India.

his appreciation of the enormous quantity of literary materials existing of which the prolific subject of India has been the inspiration and the theme.

I am indebted to Mr. C. H. Coote, of the Map Department of the British Museum, for the substance of the following notes respecting the MS. Portolano from which the map of India, reproduced to face page 1, is redrawn.

Among the notable acquisitions of the Map Department of the British Museum, recorded in vol. 52 of the Parliamentary Papers for 1873, is a Portuguese MS. Portolano of the sixteenth century, the execution of which is of unusual beauty. This MS. is the work of Fernão Vãz Dourado, and the date of 1573 has been assigned to its production. This date, from internal evidence, appears to be correct, and if so, the MS. is a copy of one prepared three years earlier by the same hand. Barbosa Machado[1] records that the original manuscript was made in Goa in 1571, and that in his time (1747) it was preserved in the monastery of the Carthusians at Evora. It would appear that at some period between 1747 and 1812 the work was removed to the Academia Real da Marinha de Lisboa.

The learned Antonio Ribeiro dos Santos, although the existence and place of deposit of the original MS. were apparently known to him, arrived at the erroneous conclusion—probably through a misreading of Barbosa Machado—that it was afterwards printed.[2] It is

[1] *Bibl. Lusitana*, ii, 64.

[2] "O qual se Estampou em Goa em 1571, fol." *Mem. da Litterat. Portug.*, viii, Pt. 1, p. 187.

hardly necessary to mention that this is an error. The original MS., which is generally known in Portugal under the name of the *Carte du Cartuxa*, is minutely described in the *Dictionnaire Historico-Artistique du Portugal*, par le Comte A. Raczynski (p. 73), as follows: "Le frontispiece de cet atlas est divisé perpendiculairement en deux parties égales. Un *Ecce Homo* occupe le côté droit; à gauche sont les armes des *Costa*, avec ce titre en portugais: Mappamundo que fez Fernão Vas Dourado fronteiro nestas partes que trata de todos os reinos, terras, ilhas, que ha na redondeza da terra, com suas derrotas e alturas per esquadria. Em Goa, 1571. Autour de ce frontispiece on lit encore en latin: Universalis et integra totius orbis Hydrographia ad verissimam Lusitanorum traditionem descriptio, Ferdinandus *(sic)* Vaz Dourado cosmografo auctore, in civitate Goa, anno 1571."

A later writer[1] informs us that the beautiful frontispiece above mentioned has disappeared from the National Archives of Lisbon, and in this respect the original compares unfavourably with the copy in the British Museum, of which the title is somewhat different: "Universalis et integra totius orbis Hidrographia ad verissimam Luzitanorum traditionem descripcio. Ferdinãdo W. Este livro fes Fernão Vãz Dourado." A comparison of the copy in the British Museum with the collation of the original afforded us by Da Silva enables us to realise their differences without difficulty. In the place of the lost frontispiece of

[1] Da Silva, *Diccionario Bibliographio Portuguez*, Supp., tom. ix, p. 221.

the original MS., containing the title in Portuguese on the one side and the *Ecce Homo* on the other, the Museum copy exhibits on the verso of the first folio, the Royal arms of Portugal, and on the recto of the following leaf, a representation of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, beautifully illuminated in charming colours by a Portuguese artist, and perhaps one of the finest specimens of the miniature painter's art to be found in any Portuguese manuscript. This picture was in all probability intended as a delicate act of homage to the reigning monarch Dom Sebastião. The original appears to have consisted, at a former period, of twenty sheets bound in folio, including title-page, sixteen charts, one table of cosmographical rules, and two of nautical calendars;—whereas the Museum copy contains twenty-one sheets, viz., the title, seventeen charts, the table of rules, and two sheets of nautical calendars, apparently calculated for four years, ending in leap-year 1576. The rules in the Museum copy contain a table of feasts which coincide exactly with those for 1573, and this, with the allusion to the King Dom Sebastião in the frontispiece, points conclusively to the correctness of the date assigned to it. Barbosa Machado alludes to a copy of the work of Vaz Dourado in the library of José de Faria, the learned secretary to Dom Pedro II, *circ.* 1690, but of this copy no trace is known, unless perchance that in the British Museum be the very one.

With regard to the author himself little is known. According to the author, Antonio Ribeiro dos Santos, Fernando Vaz Dourado was born probably in

the first quarter of the sixteenth century, at Goa; he is described in his own work as "*fronteiro* nestas partes"; and by Barbosa Machado as "igualmento perito no exercicio das armas, como versado na Geografia", a fact which no one will dispute. In addition to these meagre notices of the first cosmographer of the Indies, there is a notice in the *Archivo*[1] *Portuguez Oriental* relating to Fernão Vaz of Goa in 1584, and if this refers to the above, which is very doubtful, it would bring the life of the author well down towards the close of the sixteenth century.

The portrait of Afonso Dalboquerque, which is placed as a frontispiece to this book, forms the frontispiece of vol. i of the 8vo. edition of the *Commentaries* of 1774. It has been reproduced by the autotype process with permission of the trustees of the British Museum from the copy preserved in the library.

The portrait of Dom Francisco Dalmeida and the plan of Goa are derived from the same valuable MS. of Pedro Barreto de Resende from which I obtained that of Afonso Dalboquerque, given as frontispiece in the first volume of my translation, and the map of Arabia by P. Berthelot[2] at page 80; and my thanks

[1] Fascic. v, p. 1076.

[2] Pierre Berthelot, a barefooted Carmelite monk, whose name in religion was Denis de la Nativité, was born at Honfleur in 1600. After having followed the career of a pirate, he was received with distinction at Goa, and was nominated in 1629 first pilot to a Portuguese fleet sent to defend Malacca (Sumatra) against the King of Achim, who was besieging the town. His bravery won for him the post of Cosmographer Royal of the Indies, a title which he justified in revealing in his divers voyages the shores of the

are due to the trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce these also by photography.

There is an interesting map of Goa, in the possession of T. W. H. Tolbort, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, to whom I am indebted for the kindness shown by offering the use of it for this work, which bears the following title:

> "Mappa do Territorio Portuguez de Goa, mostrando tambem os principaes lugares de Sattari. Tudo examinado e visto debaixo da immediata Superintendencia do Tenente Jas. Garling de Madrasta pelos Annos de 1814. Corrigido e separado em Provincias por C. S. R. Nunes."

The lower space of the map is filled with statistical information[1] of great value, but, as it appertains to a period far more recent than that of Afonso Dalboquerque, I should be hardly justified in inserting these notices in this place. The scale to which the map is drawn is two miles to an inch—*duas Milhas por polegada*.

The modern map of Goa and the Portuguese de-

country that he visited. Bertelot, with the Portuguese ambassador, was massacred at Achim by the inhabitants on the 27th of November, 1638.—Frère, *Manuel de Bibliographie Normande*, vol. i, p. 336. Paris, 1850-60. 8vo.

[1] See also, Brit. Mus. Add. MS., 14382, ff. 112, 113. Some useful *Notices of the Portuguese Territories of Goa* are to be found in the British Museum Add. MS., 14384, ff. 19-40, written early in the present century; and there are also two large volumes respectively entitled a *Memoir Descriptive and Illustrative of the Map of the Portuguese Territories Dependent on Goa, surveyed in* 1811-1812, *by Lieut. J. Garling*, MS. 14385; and a *Collection of Statistical Tables of the Portuguese Territories in India*, 1776-1833, MS. 14386.

pendencies may be best studied from the survey (four miles to an inch) made by Lieutenant-Colonels Neil Campbell and G. Boyd and their staff, and published by John Walker, geographer to the Hon. East India Company, May 31st, 1852.

CHRONOLOGY OF PART II.

PAGE		A.D.
1.	Afonso Dalboquerque arrives at Cananor	At the beginning of December, 1508
1.	Requests to be received as Governor of India	A few days afterwards
4.	Reaches Cochim	14 Dec., 1508
11.	Meeting of Afonso Dalboquerque and Jorge Barreto	24 Dec., 1508
16.	D. Francisco Dalmeida, Viceroy of India, having routed the Rumes, visits Cananor and Cochim	8 March, 1509
123.	D. Afonso da Noronha sails away from Çacotora to India	April, 1509
34.	The Viceroy summons a Council to deliberate respecting the appointment of Afonso Dalboquerque to be Governor .	Monday, 15 May, 1509
49.	Death of João da Nova, at Cochim . .	July, 1509
46.	D. Fernando Coutinho, Marshal of Portugal, [having set out from Portugal on the 12th March, 1509, *see page* 56 *note*] arrives at Cananor, and carries Afonso Dalboquerque with him to Cochim	29 Oct., 1509
47.	The Marshal pays a visit to the Viceroy with respect to the affairs of Afonso Dalboquerque	Saturday, 4 Nov., 1509
48.	The Viceroy surrenders the government of India to Afonso Dalboquerque, and embarks	Sunday, 5 Nov., 1509

48. The Viceroy sails for Cananor in the ship *Garça* . . . . . 10 November, 1509

52. Determination of Afonso Dalboquerque and the Marshal to destroy Calicut Beginning of Dec., 1509

63. They set out from Cochim . . . 31 Dec., 1509

63. And arrive at Calicut . . . . . 3 Jan., 1510

64-71. The attack made, the Marshal killed and Afonso Dalboquerque wounded . . 4 Jan., 1510

„ After burning the city of Calicut the Portuguese withdraw to Cochim . . . 5 Jan., 1510

80. Afonso Dalboquerque sets out from Cochim for the Red Sea with twenty-three ships 10 Feb., 1510

84. Alters his course, and bears down upon the Castle of Cintácora . . . . 25 Feb., 1510

88. A Council deliberates upon the proposed enterprise to attack Goa. . . . . [27 Feb., 1510]

88. D. Antonio de Noronha, nephew of Afonso Dalboquerque, sounds the bar of Goa . 28 Feb., 1510

48. The Viceroy murdered at the watering-place of Saldanha . . . . . [1 March, 1510]

89. Capture of the fortress of Pangij . [1 March, 1510]

196. Note. [Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos sets out from Portugal with a fleet for Malaca 12 March, 1510]

119. Letter of Afonso Dalboquerque to the King of Ormuz announcing the capture of Goa 20 March, 1510

133. Francisco Serrão dispatched from Goa to Cochim to carry news of the fall of the city, and to take back supplies . Beginning of April

137. Arrival of the Hidalcão's advanced guard at Banda and Condal, reported . . 23 April, 1510

155. The Hidalcão enters Goa through the pass of Agacij . . . . . 17 May, 1510

164. Afonso Dalboquerque withdraws his forces from Goa, and anchors in the river . . . 20 May, 1510

176. The Portuguese renew their attack on Pangij, and succeed . . . . . 14 June, 1510

180. Death of Don Antonio de Noronha, nephew of Afonso Dalboquerque.

188. Execution of Ruy Diaz.

192. Afonso Dalboquerque orders João de Lima to prepare to sail for supplies . . . 15 July, 1510

193. Afonso Dalboquerque attempts to sail out over the bar of Goa . . . About 21 July, 1510

199. Afonso Dalboquerque sails away to Anjadiva 16 Aug., 1510

199. Arrival of Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos with a fleet of five ships from Portugal . . 16 Aug., 1510

200. The combined fleets anchor off Anjadiva . 17 Aug., 1510

201. Anchor off Onor . . . . . 19 Aug., 1510

202. And arrive at Cananor . . . . 26 Aug., 1510

124. Duarte de Lemos and Francisco Pantoja arrive at Cananor from Çacotorá . . . 31 Aug., 1510

224. Arrival of Lourenço Moreno from Portugal at Cananor . . . . . 8 Sept., 1510

215. Letter from Afonso Dalboquerque to the Chief Alguazil of Cambaya . . . . 16 Sept., 1510

233. Arrival of Gonçalo de Sequeira at Cananor . 16 Sept., 1510

237. Afonso Dalboquerque sets out with all his forces to Cochim . . . . . 22 Sept, 1510

237. Reaches Cochim, and visits the King . . 26 Sept., 1510

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OF THE GREAT

AFONSO D'ALBOQUERQUE,

WHO WAS

CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE EAST INDIES

IN THE TIME OF THE VERY POWERFUL

KING D. MANUEL,

THE FIRST OF THIS NAME.

PART II.

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WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED THE DEALINGS OF THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE WITH THE VICEROY: AND WHAT HE DID AFTER BEING INVESTED WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, UNTIL THE FIRST TAKING OF GOA.

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CHAPTER I.

How he arrived at Cananor at the beginning of December, in the year fifteen hundred and eight: and required the Viceroy to deliver up to him the government of India, as the king D. Manuel ordered in his instructions, and what took place thereupon.

THE great Afonso Dalboquerque, on his arrival at Cananor, as I have mentioned, found the Viceroy there making his fleet ready to go and seek the *Rumes*, who were at Diu; and as the Viceroy had already learned by Fernão Soares and Ruy da Cunha, captains in the fleet of Jorge de Aguiar (who had arrived but a few days before), that the King D. Manuel had ordered him to return that year to Portugal, leaving Afonso Dalboquerque as Governor of India, he was not much pleased with his arrival, nor was the other, either, pleased at seeing how good a treatment the captains who had deserted him at Ormuz had experienced at the hands of the Viceroy; and thenceforward great dissensions began to grow up between them.

After the lapse of some days, Afonso Dalboquerque went to see the Viceroy, and told him, in the presence of Fernão Soarez and Ruy da Cunha, that since the King D. Manuel had ordered him to proceed to Portugal, and all the letters

and official documents came directed to himself, as Governor of India, he desired that he would hand the office over to him, according to the King's instructions, for they were already at the beginning of December, which was the proper time to start, and he had the ship *Betlem*, wherein he could make the voyage with great comfort, and six other ships to convoy her. The Viceroy replied that the period of his government would terminate in January next, and that when it was so terminated then he would deliver it over to him. When Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that this was the intention of the Viceroy, he would not have any more words with him, but returned to his own house and sent Antonio de Sintra, who acted as his secretary (Gaspar Pereira having remained behind, sick, at Cochim), to show him the powers and diplomas he held from the King D. Manuel, fastened up and sealed just as they had been brought. These Antonio de Sintra opened at the desire of Afonso Dalboquerque, for the superscriptions stated that they were to be opened whenever he wished; and being thus opened, he carried them before the Viceroy, who, after having read them, told Antonio de Sintra he had done very wrong in opening these provisions without first of all informing him, and Afonso Dalboquerque had greatly erred in the request he had preferred in the presence of Fernão Soarez and Ruy da Cunha; he must therefore inform him the best thing he could do would be to fasten them up again, and so keep them in secret until his return from Diu.

Antonio de Sintra delivered this message, and told his master that if it were necessary to fasten up all those documents again, he would do so in such a manner that they would seem as though they had never been opened. Afonso Dalboquerque said to him:—"If this is so, then, Antonio de Sintra, it is not the first time you have done such a thing; I am not the kind of man to fasten up again the powers and diplomas of the King, whereby he orders me to

govern India, after they have been opened. Tell the Viceroy that since the disposition of the fleet rests with me, as I am Governor of India, he must deliver it over to me, that I may go in search of the *Rumes*." The Viceroy sent word to him, saying that he himself was already prepared and determined to prosecute that expedition, but he (Afonso) was to remain where he was in Cananor, or go to Cochim and rest awhile from his past labours; but as soon as he returned he would deliver the office up to him, according to the King's instructions. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he would not have time to go and return within the year, so as to be able to go back to Portugal; but that if he was determined to stay in India he might govern the country, so long as he handed over to him the fleet, that he might have charge of it.

The Viceroy, being weary of these constant messages, said to Antonio de Sintra: "That will do very well for the present," and gave him no other reply. On the following day, in the morning, Lourenço de Brito, Captain of the Fortress of Cananor, paid a visit to Afonso Dalboquerque, having been instructed by the Viceroy, and in course of conversation began telling him not to trouble himself with requisitions, nor even to talk about such things, for the men were very desirous that the Viceroy should retain the command; if he pushed the matter very hardly, and put it to the vote of the captains, all would incline to this opinion; and this he told him, as he said, out of a desire to serve him and be his friend, for he desired there should be no differences between him and the Viceroy. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that as he had not asked him for any advice, he might keep it to himself, for he had taken plenty of counsel with the powers and diplomas of the King, D. Manuel, which he had with him; his own advice to the Viceroy was to conform to these documents, and not make use of go-betweens.

When this had taken place, and Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that the Viceroy would not deliver India to him, but that the captains who fled away and left him in the war with Ormuz did many discourteous acts towards him, being encouraged to them by the Viceroy; in order to avoid these and similar unpleasantnesses, he proceeded to embark in the ship *Cirne*, which had brought him from Ormuz, and sailed away for Cochim. And in consequence of the leaky condition of the ship, he was almost cast away on the voyage, but reached the place on the fourteenth of December, and remained on board for five days, waiting until some houses for his occupation could be found. On his arrival, Gaspar Pereira, Rui de Araujo, and the other officers of the factory, came to see him, and after giving them an account of what had passed with the Viceroy in Cananor, he exhibited to them the powers and diplomas he held from the King D. Manuel, to be Captain-General of India, telling them he did not show these deeds of the King to force obedience from them, but to let them feel quite sure that he had demanded of the Viceroy that he should yield up the command and government of India and hand it over to him, according to the orders of the King D. Manuel, for he did not wish to be the cause of any faction: for already some people had come to him in Cananor and advised him to call himself Captain-General of India, but he would not do so, to avoid party differences; but he would swear to them that he had experienced such treatment at Cananor that he feared to encounter dishonourable outrage, or even death, at their hands.

When Afonso Dalboquerque departed, the Viceroy, fearing lest he should send complaints to the King by the ships which would make the voyage to Portugal that year, wrote to the Prior do Crato, his brother, to unite with the Baron and with the Governor D. Alvaro de Castro, and all three speak to the King, and tell him that his stay in India was

caused by all the captains and noblemen requesting him not to leave, for if Afonso Dalboquerque remained as governor there, the Moors would immediately revolt against us, and therefore he had not delivered over to him the command until his Highness should be informed of what was going on, and forthwith arrange what should be most advantageous to his interest; as for the evil that Dalboquerque had done in the kingdom of Ormuz, Afonso Lopez da Costa (who was sent specially for this purpose) could give him a true account, as could also Gaspar Rodriguez, the interpreter, who would state that Ormuz was lost to them by reason of his fault and bad government. The Viceroy sent Manuel Fragoso with these letters to Cochim in the *fusta*, which had brought Nuno Vaz from Ormuz; and wrote to Gaspar Pereira that he earnestly desired he would take care to let no differences arise between Afonso Dalboquerque and Jorge Barreto, for he did not know whether they were friendly; and that, to avoid scandal, he would not give him quarters in the fortress, but let him have the best houses in the town to occupy (provided they were not in the possession of João da Nova), and he would proceed to send him some notice of the faults laid to the charge of Afonso Dalboquerque, to show him them; and he was to endeavour to persuade him to appropriate everything he could get possession of in the way of pay and goods, when he was Chief Captain of India, for he had desired to offer him this course of action, only he had not dared to do so when he saw how proudly he carried himself, though he had no cause for it. Afonso Dalboquerque, also, for his part and in his own manner, wrote to the King, sending him the affidavits he had ordered to be made out concerning the flight of the captains, and begged him to punish them. The King D. Manuel was so angry at this desertion of the captains that, on the arrival of Afonso Lopez da Costa, he ordered him immediately to be imprisoned in his castle, and would have

had him executed for it, if he had not got off through the powerful influence of his friends.

CHAPTER II.

How Gaspar Pereira carried the appointments, which the Viceroy gave him, to the great Afonso Dalboquerque, and of the reply he received.

When the days had elapsed which Afonso Dalboquerque spent in the flagship, waiting while they emptied the houses of Gonçalo Fernandez, wherein he was to lodge, he went on shore; and Gaspar Pereira went immediately to see him, and told him that the Viceroy, previous to his departure from Cananor to Diu, had sent him some drafts of charges made against him, which he would show him, and if he would give him permission to lay them before him, or serve them upon him, he would do so; but if not, they could remain where they were until the arrival of the Viceroy, for he himself had nothing to do in the matter except as a messenger. Afonso Dalboquerque bade him give them to him, for he had come from Cananor so tired of his dealings with the Viceroy that unless they contained anything to alarm him he would prepare to answer them.

The first charge was that he had delayed sending to him to give up his power which the King had given him, through Antonio de Sintra, in Cananor, and making the request to him which he had made in the presence of Fernão Soarez and Ruy da Cunha, Captains of the King. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he did not comprehend why he should be so alarmed at the request, when he so often told him that the King had written to him to return to Portugal and deliver over the government of India to himself; what was much more astonishing to him was that he should come to Cananor and find him determined not to deliver it over to him, as he had done.

The second charge was that he had quitted Çocotora without the King's order, and made his way to India, though he had written to him, through Tristão da Cunha, that his Highness ordered him to take great care of the place, and for this reason he had omitted to send any necessary supplies thither. Afonso Dalboquerque answered that on arriving at Cananor he had stated that the reason of his coming was because the weather did not permit any other voyage, for in the months of November and December one could not run from Ormuz to the Island of Çocotora, as the winds were south-east and the weather very rough: another thing, also, which forced him to come to India was the quantity of water which the *Rey Grande* and the *Cirne* made, lest they should be lost; and, moreover, the time was now come wherein the King had ordered him to receive the government of India. And since he demanded so strict an account of what he had done, he first ought to have taken an account from the captains who had deserted their posts in the war, and from Manuel Telez, who had carried off the supplies entrusted to him for carriage to the Fortress of Çocotora in his ship; but these captains he retained in favour before his eyes. And though he desired very often to give an account of himself in Cananor, yet the Viceroy would never listen to him or look at his instructions, because in them the King commanded him that if no clause in them bore upon a particular state of affairs, in that case he was to do as would be most advantageous to his interest; and if he was not pleased with his coming to India without the King's orders, how could he, on his part, be pleased with the Viceroy's stay in India and unwillingness to deliver up to him the government of it, not caring to follow his orders and instructions? As for the letter he had forwarded to him through Tristão da Cunha, it was to hand, as well as another, wherein he gave him an account of the flight of his captains, begging him to send back ships and men and other captains; wherein,

also, he gave him an account of the state in which he then was; to this one never yet had he seen any reply, nor had he assisted him, as he was obliged to do by virtue of his position as Captain-General of the Indies; but, on the contrary, he had seen his (the Viceroy's) letters to the King and Cogeatar, making use of very dishonourable expressions respecting his own person, holding his labours as of little value, extolling the actions of the captains, and stating his good reception of them.

The third charge made against Afonso Dalboquerque was that he had blockaded Ormuz and prohibited all communications during the period protected by the safeguard which he had himself agreed upon, and Cogeatar had sent the document to demonstrate this fact to him, but he would not return it to him again. To this Afonso Dalboquerque replied that it was true that during this protected period he had surrounded the Island of Ormuz, and not permitted any one to enter or leave the place, for he was obliged to do so for the safety of his own men and his fleet, and to remain there waiting for the succour and aid of the King D. Manuel, for in the letters which he had found in Ormuz, on his return from Çocotora, directed to Cogeatar, he had indeed perceived how much help he was likely to give him. Gaspar Rodriguez, the interpreter, was a true witness to a letter which Cogeatar had shown him, sealed with the arms of the King of Portugal, which was of no other import than to destroy all his labours, and spoke of himself as if he were a corsair, banished from the kingdom. When Cogeatar perceived how little value was set upon him, like a cunning man, he understood how matters lay, and knew how to take advantage of the opportunity; and it was not a thing likely to terrify him that some members of his company were telling him that he had done imprudently to humour him, since the captains who had deserted him with the complaint that they were not satisfied with the way the

war was carried on, and that he had ordered them to fill up their freights, had come to be well treated by him; and those who had protected him and accompanied him in all his troubles and fortunes, like very true and faithful cavaliers, had found their prospects unimproved and their cargoes not laden. And if Cogeatar wished to reap the advantage of this armistice which he (Alboquerque) offered him, he, on his part, as was reasonable to expect, would be insured by Cogeatar; but he would desire that Cogeatar would keep to the arrangement, and he desired him to stop the discharge of arrows, for he was Chief Captain of the King of Portugal, in whose name the armistice had been entered into.

The fourth charge was that Cogeatar had sent, desiring of him a mutual order and assignation for an interview, and that he would not grant it. Afonso replied that he did not remember whether he had sent it him or not, and even if it were so, it was not right that it should have been given, for the order was for himself, concerning his proper duty according to circumstances, and that he had to give account to the King D. Manuel of what he had done, because he acted under his directions. And above all, he had given him a translation, signed and sealed, and an account of the manner in which his order had been received. Because, if perchance the ships and men sent thither by the King D. Manuel to help him had gone to seek him according to the orders promulgated when he first left Portugal, they would have known, on arriving at Ormuz, of the events that had taken place there.

The fifth charge was that he had taken a slave away from a Moorish merchant of Ormuz against his will. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that this was not so, but that a caravan of merchants had come from Persia to Ormuz, and a Moor brought in company with him a Christian youth from Ruxia, who, on seeing our ships, fled, and managed to reach them, and the Moor had demanded the surrender of the youth, but

he was unwilling to give him up, because he was a Christian and he would not return with him, but for all that he had not remained in slavery, and it was not likely that such a man as he (Afonso Dalboquerque) was, would enslave a youth who had put himself under his protection under the name of a Christian.

And because Gaspar Pereira, besides these statements, told Afonso Dalboquerque other things which the Viceroy had ordered him to say by word of mouth—one of which was that he was to pay him all due to him for the time he was in India—Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he should make answer to the Viceroy that at the Court of the King of Portugal, whither both of them were proceeding, there was no place for tricks and artifices to entice him to sell his honour and personal dignity, but that he trusted, with God's help, to perform such services in those parts for the King, our Lord, whereby he might merit the favours of other titles more noble than that of Viceroy.

After Afonso Dalboquerque had replied to all those points above described, he ordered Gaspar Pereira to be called, and, in the presence of Ruy de Araujo and André Diaz and the other officers of the Factory at Cochim, who were with him, he gave him the answers, telling him that he was very much alarmed for him, since he had gathered, from the letters which the King had written to him, in his capacity of Secretary of India, wherein he ordered the Viceroy to return to Portugal, and him (Afonso) to remain as Governor, that he had so much dread that he was unwilling to perform the commands contained in the letters of his Highness, and that since the Viceroy would not deliver the government of India over to him, it was not for him to take it by the sword, but conformably to the orders of the King, his lord. Gaspar Pereira informed him that he had no doubt that the Viceroy would yield up the government on his arrival at Diu, for he had often expressed his intentions of doing so before the

officers who were there; and if the Viceroy would not obey the King's orders, he himself would resign his office, and let who would have it, and serve only under him.

CHAPTER III.

Of certain things which passed at Cochim, between the great Afonso Dalboquerque and Jorge Barreto: and of the letter which Lourenço de Brito, Captain of Cananor, wrote to him, and of the reply which was sent to him.

Ten days after the great Afonso Dalboquerque had arrived at Cochim, Jorge Barreto, captain of the fortress, because the Viceroy had written to desire there should be no disagreements between them, went to his house to visit him. Now he had married a daughter of Fernão Dalboquerque, brother of Afonso Dalboquerque, and had been well treated by him, and gained both goods and other favours; but, not bearing this in mind, he had thrown his weight into the party of the Viceroy, always informing him of whatever he chose about Afonso, and always depreciating his merits. On this account, despiting his affairs, Afonso did not receive him graciously, and, when he was taking leave, sent word to him by a clerk that he begged him very much of his goodness not to trouble to have much conversation with him, nor to visit him, for he was his deadly enemy, and spoke ill of him, but when they should happen to meet in the streets of the place, he would make a show of courtesy towards him.

Jorge Barreto was ill pleased with the message, and went to Gaspar Pereira and related it to him, and told him that after this as he was going in to the church where Dalboquerque was attending mass he desired to speak with him, but he turned his eyes on the ground and made as though he had not perceived him. And he added that he was determined to go to the Factory to require the officials to

draw up a statement of all these doings, to the end that the Viceroy, at his coming, should know the conduct of Afonso Dalboquerque.

In pursuance of advice which the Viceroy had given him, that he should mollify him in such a manner as to prevent any differences arising between them, Gaspar Pereira betook himself to Afonso Dalboquerque, and after relating the complaints laid against him by Jorge Barreto, told him that he did not consider the service of the king promoted by these differences, and that his being governor of India ought to be enough for him to put up with all this, and that they should reserve their disagreements until they reached Portugal; and he begged him to go and inspect the fortress (which he had not entered since his arrival) in order that the natives of Cochim should not say: "Wherefore would the captain-general not set his foot in the fortress, nor speak with the captain thereof?" Afonso replied that he would not have any converse with Jorge Barreto nor speak to him, because he held this resolve to be for the king's service on many accounts, for he was not only content, while at Ormuz, to be privy to the flight of the captains, but also when before the Viceroy he had done and said all that he could against him. And that as for stating that he had been unwilling to speak with him in the church, he would swear upon the Gospels (and here he laid his hand on a book beside him) that he did not observe him. As for speaking to him whenever they chanced to meet, this he would do, but other conversation there should not be between them. And in order to withdraw himself from these disagreements, he had given orders to the master and mariners of the *Cirne* that all should lay their complaints in person before Jorge Barreto, for he was Captain of Cochim, and he for his part did not intend to have anything to do with the matter.

On the conclusion of this affair, while Gaspar Pereira

and Antonio Real, Patrão Mór, and Ruy de Araujo, were standing on the bank, Jorge Barreto came up on horseback, and said to them that Afonso Dalboquerque had told Manuel Peçanha not to speak to him for it was against the good of the king's service, and that whoever listened to it would think all the evil in the world of him; and he begged them to be so gracious as to draw up a formal statement of these disturbances in order that the Viceroy might know what kind of unity there was between them; for he for his part had always been very loyal and served his king very well, and if ever at any hour he found himself in Portugal, he would ask whether or not it was to the service of the king to speak to him. Gaspar Pereira went away forthwith to Afonso Dalboquerque, and desired him earnestly to consign these differences to the devil, for there was no object to be gained by them, and they only gave occasion for gossip. And he replied that if he really thought so he might order them to get his brigantine ready for the passage to Cananor, in order that he might stay there out of sight of Jorge Barreto, and out of hearing of all these troubles.

When Gaspar Pereira discovered that Afonso Dalboquerque was annoyed by his desiring to patch up a friendship with Jorge Barreto, he betook himself to his own house, and said no more in the matter. And within the space of two days, they forwarded a letter of Lourenço de Brito, Captain of Cananor, to Afonso Dalboquerque, wherein he stated that he begged him of his favour to be very circumspect in his intercourse with the natives of Cochim, for he would assure him that in all the world he had never seen such a bad set of peeple; and he would have him also to know that nothing could be done or said in Cochim without the Viceroy being informed of it wherever he went. But in Cananor, where he was, he congratulated himself every morning when he rose, and begged God to preserve him from the bickerings and quarrellings of Cochim; and that he

should not worry himself about things that had passed between him and the Viceroy at Cananor, for he hoped all would turn out well, and he would serve him (Afonso) well in India. And so he went on saying many other things very different to what he had said before the Viceroy, and begged he would tear up this letter without delay.

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REPLY OF THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE TO LOURENÇO DE BRITO.

"I beg you of your favour to put your trust in me, for my experience and intelligence never wrecked a venture; and well do I believe that they report another thing now about me in India, but I forgive them all, for time and place compels them to do what they are doing. But before the King, our lord, with whom rests the reward of our services, all must speak the truth, and then shall be known all that has been done and is to be done in India. Think not that the country, or the customs of it, can avail to injure the powers which I hold from the King, our lord, because the noble spirit which I possess and my weighty knowledge easily dissipate all these differences, and I apply to all of them this verse of David, when he says: '*Si*[1] *Deus adjutor mihi, non timebo quid faciat mihi homo?*' Nevertheless, Sir, have no concern for me, but rather have it for the captains of the King, our lord, who hold their commissions and letters-missive of his Highness directed to me, wherein he holds me for his Captain-General in these parts of India, yet they are unwilling to obey me, although I presented myself in person at proper time, when the Viceroy had six vessels in freight and a strong monsoon to enable him to set out. And bear in mind that you showed me your letter, and I do not fail to remember the favour which you offered to do for me,

[1] Psalm cxviii, 6, *Dominus mihi adjutor*, etc. "The Lord is on my side; I will not fear: what can man do unto me?" [Ps. 118, 6.]

when the Viceroy was about to start for Diu, which was that I should remain behind as your Castellan while you went with him. Just so now, Sir, the advice and sufferance, which there in Cananor I had in these matters, I shall not fail to appreciate, now that I am here placed in a hut of straw, with the title of Captain-General of these parts, as the King, our lord, calls me to-day in Portugal; and do you, Sir, believe that since all these things could hardly make any impression upon me when I was in Cananor, little power ought these mischief-makers to have over me in this land, where they are always repeating: 'Here he said good of the Viceroy, there he said bad of him.' These ceremonious speeches will not be found to proceed from me, nor is there anyone who dares to bring news to my inn, because this courtesy was ever mine, as well by nation as by creation; in this last I have nothing to say, for we all desire to serve the King. This is what I know in this hermitage, wherein I rest all day and all night; and with respect to what you say in desiring me to keep secret your communication to me, your letter was torn up immediately, without relating anything about it to anyone."

And with this letter they gave to Afonso Dalboquerque another from Pero Fernandez Tinoco, wherein he said that he ought not to rely on the promise of the Viceroy to hand over India when he returned from Diu, because after his departure to Cochim he had held a council with his captains, his friends, and retainers, and agreed not to deliver it up, but to send him (Afonso) to Portugal by the first opportunity of a fleet.

CHAPTER IV.

How the Viceroy, D. Francisco Dalmeida, after routing the Rumes, set out from Diu, and arrived at Cananor with Lourenço de Brito, and so on to Cochim: and of what took place with the great Afonso Dalboquerque on his arrival.

After the Viceroy had destroyed the fleet of the Rumes, he set sail and made his way to Cananor, where he received letters from Jorge Barreto, containing much bad news of the great Afonso Dalboquerque, and from Gaspar Pereira and Ruy de Araujo. And because Lourenço de Brito, Captain of the fortress, was the one who fomented these disturbances, he also, on his part, began to be in an ill-humour, and told him many things against Afonso Dalboquerque, having, it may be, forgotten the letter which he had written to him. The Viceroy, who had been informed of everything they told him had taken place, without making any stay, set forth, and reached Cochim on the eighth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand five hundred and nine, with determination of not rendering up to Afonso Dalboquerque the government of India, being urged to this by the captains who had fled from the war at Ormuz, and by others of their way of thinking. On receiving intelligence of the arrival of the Viceroy, Afonso Dalboquerque summoned before him the officers of the Factory and Gaspar Pereira, and told them that as the Viceroy was now arrived, he desired to make a requisition for the formal delivery of India to himself, which they, as officers of the King, might present to him. And just as they were all thus engaged, and Afonso Dalboquerque was writing the requisition with João Estão, news was brought that the Viceroy was coming down the river in the galley which he had captured from the Rumes. So the officers, as they were obliged to go and receive him, proceeded all together to the bank, and got into the boat with Jorge de

Melo, to accompany him. When the Viceroy saw them, he got out of the galley and went into the boat with them, and disembarked close to the fortress, where there were awaiting him all the clergy, drawn up in a procession, and Jorge Barreto, Captain of Cochim, with many people. So Afonso Dalboquerque left the requisition which he was drawing up, and, accompanied by some persons who were taking a meal with him, proceeded to receive the Viceroy, and stood a long while on the beach awaiting his landing. But he, as soon as he landed, made as though he did not see him, and went up at once directly towards Jorge Barreto, and embraced him, and paid many compliments both to him and to the others who were standing by.

Afonso Dalboquerque did not fail to notice the little count the Viceroy made of him, so he took hold of him by a tag of his brocaded over-dress, and said: "Ah, Sir, here I am; see me!" The Viceroy turned round to him, and begged pardon for not having seen him, and without saying another word began to walk on; and so they all went in procession to the church, and Master Diogo preached, greatly lauding the victory the Viceroy had achieved over the Rumes. When the Service came to an end, the Viceroy proceeded to the fortress, in company with the captains and men who were there, and just as he reached the gate Afonso Dalboquerque said to him: "Sir, seeing that God has given you so complete a victory, and you have avenged the death of your son with so much honour, and there is no more to do in the matter, I beg you of your grace let there be no differences between us, but deliver to me the government of India by these provisions which I here hold from the King, our lord; and trust me that I shall not allow it to be lost, as my enemies would make you believe, for even now in Cananor I sent the papers for your inspection by Antonio de Sintra but you would not look at them, and sent me word advising me to seal them up again."

While this conversation was taking place, Gaspar Pereira, whom the Viceroy had sent for, arrived, and Afonso Dalboquerque said to him: "Gaspar Pereira, as you are my scrivener, I require you, on the part of the King, our lord, to notify to the Lord Viceroy and to all the captains, fidalgos, and men here present these provisions, which here I deliver to you, whereby the King, our lord, commands the Lord Viceroy to deliver up to me India, and to set forth on the back of the papers an instrument containing his assent thereto or refusal, as the case may be." When Afonso Dalboquerque had made an end of saying these words, the Viceroy turned his back upon him, saying: "You have no scrivener dependent on you where I am," and without further reply betook himself indoors; and Gaspar Pereira, with the instructions given to him by Afonso Dalboquerque, went in behind the Viceroy, and so did many others; and they began to laugh and quarrel over his requisition. And João da Nova, who was one of them, began to say to the Viceroy that he would do well if he sent him loaded with irons to Portugal, for he was a fool, who knew not what he said; and that he, on his part, knew very well who it was that was advising him to walk in these silly ways, pointing all these hints at Gaspar Pereira.

CHAPTER V.

How the Viceroy behaved towards Gaspar Pereira and Ruy de Araujo and the other officers of the Factory, with regard to the interview which he had held with the great Afonso Dalboquerque.

After the Viceroy had remained for a while conversing of the affairs in which he had been engaged at Diu, he dismissed the meeting, and remained behind with Ruy de Araujo, André Diaz, Pedromem, Antonio de Sintra, and Gaspar Pereira, officers of the King, and Jorge de Melo, whom he

desired to stay with him; and then he began to say: "Now that we are alone, I would like to talk a little about that which was said to me by that foolish Afonso Dalboquerque, who is so impertinent that he would not allow us to take any rest, nor reach home, but immediately that I disembarked said that I gave him a bad reception, and made a disturbance, which you all heard, styling Gaspar Pereira his scrivener. You can well see hereby with how little reason it is that he demands that I should deliver over to him the government of India, and is unwilling to talk sensibly about it. As for the blame of this, it rests with the King, who favours this foolish fellow, and therefore let him look to the consequences. And the wonder is, that you, Gaspar Pereira, when he styled you his scrivener, did not laugh nor nudge with your elbows those who stood beside you, and call him senseless; but as you did not do so, but received from him those papers that you have now in your hands, and did not undeceive him there and then that he was not to be governor of India, all this is a sign that you are agreeable to his doings, and that it is true that you and Ruy de Araujo are advising him to do all these things, although I could not have believed it if I had not been certified of it in Cananor. But be sure that this business shall not be cured with herbs[1] and ointments, but with cold iron; for it is a case of treason and rebellion against the King our Lord and his Viceroy in India." And then with increased passion he stood up erect on his feet, and taking hold of his uniform, said: "Gaspar Pereira, I vow to God, by this uniform, with which I have been invested, that if you carry on with this business any further, I will order you to be loaded with irons, and dragged along this beach; and as for the foolish Afonso Dalboquerque, I shall punish him thoroughly, if he says any more about it. So give him back his papers to take care of, for I will not look at them. And I vow to God that

[1] *Malvas*, mallows.

I will forthwith imprison any man, even though he be one of the best in India, who sides with his statements and demands."

The dismay the Viceroy produced was so great, that all the officers were trembling with fear; but Gaspar Pereira, as he was put out, took no notice of his passion, and said to him: "Wherefore does your Lordship treat these matters as if I had more to do with them than these other officers who are present? It seems as though you would mix me up in them, whereas I am only here as the officer whose duty it is to exhibit these instructions of the King our Lord, which Afonso Dalboquerque has given to me, to your Lordship." The Viceroy replied: "How is it then, that you consented that he should call you his scrivener?" Gaspar Pereira answered: "As your Lordship appears determined to argue to your own disadvantage,[1] I shall tell you. The King our Lord made him his Captain-General of India on the expiration of the time of your Lordship's rule, and me he made his secretary, and writes to me to that effect and to your Lordship as well, and in his instructions he says the same, and on this account your Lordship is wrong to reprove me for allowing him to style me his scrivener."

The Viceroy replied: "It will be as God pleases. I know not in good faith, for the King does not know what he is ordering, nor does he know what the true position of India is; let all the captains assemble, and then we shall know how this will turn out; for I will not deliver India to a madman who will hurl her into destruction." Gaspar Pereira said to him: "I know nought of all this, that is for your Lordship to determine about; all I have to do is to obey him whom the King our Lord shall order me to obey; and do you, who understand it better than I do, and have to give an account of it, do as you think fit." The Viceroy replied: "Deuce

[1] *Que isto quebre polo mais fraco*, literally, *that this should break where it is the weakest.*

take me, Gaspar Pereira; but you understand this better than I do or anyone else, and now I am not surprised except at the conduct of Ruy de Araujo, who is here before me, because he has done all the good he could to Afonso Dalboquerque, and is set up in opposition to me as well." Ruy de Araujo replied: "What have I done to your Lordship? or in what have I acted ungratefully for the kindness and honour which you have bestowed upon me? For I never spoke against you, nor is there anything to my knowledge in which I have acted against your interests. I came to assist at your reception on the beach, on your arrival; I would have kissed your hands, as of my superior, but you were unwilling to see me. But I well know that this does not spring from your Lordship; it is the doing of Jorge Barreto, who wishes me ill on account of a demand I have made upon him to desist from building a ship which he was desirous of constructing for himself contrary to the orders of the King, at a time when your Lordship was at Diu."

The Viceroy said: "You go the wrong way to work,[1] for all that you came to receive me, I would that you all had cat's-tails on your heads, like little imps; and I have found you very sullen, like men who were sorry to see me; for I can tell at once, when they pass by, by the way they put their feet on the ground, who they are who wish me well, and who they are that wish me ill." And by this time he was so much annoyed at the mention of Jorge Barreto, that he made use of very bad expressions and was all but laying hands on the speaker. But Ruy de Araujo, who was a man of good judgment, went out by the door, and betook himself home without another word.

Although the great Afonso Dalboquerque, in putting up with all these expressions which the Viceroy spoke against

[1] *Nao vai ella por hi.* The full expression is *Nao vai por ahi o gato ás filhozes.* "This is not the way the cat goes to her kittens," a proverbial and colloquial phrase. See *Viegra.*

him, gained more honour than in the trouble which he had taken in the conquest of the kingdom of Ormuz, nevertheless it would have seemed right to me to remind the Viceroy, had he been alive, of the many acts of friendship which his great-great-grandfather had experienced at the hands of Gonçalo Lourenço de Gomide,[1] the great-grandfather of Afonso Dalboquerque, when he was private scrivener to the King D. João, of good memory, and very influential with him. I could say much upon this matter, but as he is dead, I must go on with the history, and leave to those who shall read it, to judge by the exploits of Afonso Dalboquerque whether or not the Viceroy was right in asserting that he was unfit to govern India.

CHAPTER VI.

Of what passed between the Viceroy and Gaspar Pereira, and of the message sent by the Viceroy through him to the great Afonso Dalboquerque; and how he gave an account to the officers of the Factory at Cochim, and to Jorge de Melo and the rest of the captains of what had happened with regard to the pepper; and of the doings of Anchecala with them, in the Factory.

Now, because the Viceroy was but little pleased with this interview which he had with Gaspar Pereira and the other officers of the Factory, after the lapse of three days he sent for him, and in the presence of Jorge Barreto told him that on the late occasion of conversing with him respecting the impertinences of Afonso Dalboquerque, he (Gaspar) had made use of some expressions, as though he wished him ill, and to these he (the Viceroy) had not then cared to reply because the house was full of people; but since his three years of government of India were finished (as had been alleged), why had he accepted the offices which he had given him to fill with him? Gaspar Pereira said to him: "I, sir, wish you no ill; as for these offices, you have given

[1] See his pedigree in Lansd. MS. 189, fo. 581*b*.

them to me without my asking you for them, when Afonso Dalboquerque was yet in Ormuz, and your Lordship used sometimes to say to me that when he arrived you would have forthwith to deliver up to him the government of India; and you used to laugh at those who advised you not so to yield the government to him; and your Lordship may remember that when Tristão da Cunha arrived here, they told you that Manuel Fernandez (who had accompanied him from Portugal) asserted that Afonso Dalboquerque had been appointed to the succession in India, on the expiration of the three years' service of your Lordship; and you replied to him who reported this to you, that you did not care whether you delivered the succession to Afonso Dalboquerque, or to a bird in the sky, provided that you had the King's orders. If this be so, in what have I erred in performing these duties to which your Lordship has appointed me?"

The Viceroy replied: "These are very fine speeches, which have no practical meaning; but how would you have me surrender so important a post as the government of India to a fool who would drive the country to destruction? There is Martin Coelho, and others with him, who even advised me to arrest him and send him in irons to Portugal." To this Gaspar Pereira answered: "These very men who gave you this advice go about saying, behind your Lordship's back, that more honour would accrue to you if you surrendered the command on Afonso's arrival here, than that which you gained by your victory over the Rumes. But since there is so much discord in this matter, I beg your Lordship to let me go, and as for the offices to which you have appointed me, give them to some one else, for the end of all this will be that the King will be sure to reward you both, while I shall be left to atone for all these differences. Yet I think that the person who busies himself with these scandalous tales would be doing far more service to

the King if he would remind your Lordship that there is no pepper for loading the ships, in order that some provision for procuring it may be made. As it is, the officers of the King of Cochim, when they are asked for it, say there is none, and give no hopes of there being any."

When Jorge Barreto heard the allusions which Gaspar Pereira made, he replied: "How is it possible that we can have any pepper if Afonso Dalboquerque, Gaspar Pereira, and Ruy de Araujo advise the King not to deliver it, unless your Lordship surrender the government of India to Afonso Dalboquerque and retire to Portugal. This is the true reason why the pepper does not come, and not that which Gaspar Pereira states." The Viceroy was angry at this which Jorge Barreto said, and sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque by Gaspar Pereira to be prudent enough to abstain from showing any more to any one the powers and letters patent he had received from the King D. Manuel, and to make no more remonstrances with him, and not to call himself Captain-General of India; but that he might, if he chose, call himself captain of the ship *Cirne;* and from that day henceforth not to hold any more meetings in his house, for information had been laid that some of those men who frequented his table spoke much that was ill of the Viceroy.

And in addition he summoned the officers of the factory at Cochim, and Ruy de Araujo, and told them how Gaspar Pereira had stated that there was no pepper in the factory, nor expectation of getting any, and how he understood that all this arose from the foolishness of Afonso Dalboquerque, who had set himself up in his house with two men, one of whom he styled factor, and the other scrivener, and was paying them wages with the money he had brought with him from Ormuz. "For he wants", said the Viceroy, "to show the Indians that there are two of us chief captains, a thing very prejudicial to the service of the king, and

worthy of punishment as a case of treason. But in truth it is I myself who am to blame, for I used to allow him to approach me every day, and associate with me, as others do who are much worthier than he is. The reason I do not now allow it is that I cannot possibly endure him, and I am irritated when I see him before me, for he is so imperious, and addresses me so cavalierly, that I cannot bear it, and all he speaks of is his services, and his honour, and the estimation due to his person. Now since this dissension between me and him is the cause of the pepper not arriving at the factory for the loading of the ships, I have summoned you here to give me your advice how to proceed in the matter."

Gaspar Pereira and Ruy de Araujo exclaimed that they had nothing to say in the business, but that his Lordship should obtain information of the truth of it, and proceed to do what he thought most to the service of the King our Lord. However, André Diaz, Antonio de Sintra, and Diogo Pereira thought that he ought to order him to deliver immediately to the King's factory all the merchandise and money which he had brought from Ormuz. Acting on this advice, the Viceroy sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque, by Diogo Pereira, to order all that had been brought from Ormuz to be delivered over to André Diaz, who acted as factor, and if anything were owing to him he would give order for its payment in the King's factory, for there must not be two factories nor two captains-major.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied to Diogo Pereira that he held no more money than was due to him for his salary and expenses. And since he had acquired possession of it with his lance in his hand, and had issued orders for the payment of fifteen thousand *cruzados* of wages to the men who had accompanied him, it was not very unreasonable that he should also pay himself out of the same fund. The Viceroy replied that it was quite right that he should be paid

his dues, but the factor of his fleet was to proceed at once to give in his accounts to the officers of the King, and disburse no more payments. Afonso Dalboquerque, was annoyed at these messages, and said to Diogo Pereira: "Say to the Viceroy, let the factor make up his accounts, for all the good this will procure will be the punishment of him who goes about with these lying tales."

Now since these dissensions which had sprung up between them were of public notoriety, a *Naire*[1] who was scrivener of the revenue of the King of Cochim, by name Anchecala, came to the factory where all the officers of the King had assembled; and after conversing about the cargo of pepper, told them that these matters of difference between Afonso Dalboquerque and the Viceroy seemed to the people on land to be in a bad state. And, he added, the King of Cochim, his lord, was one day talking to him on many subjects, and had said that he thought the Portuguese were opposed in opinion one with the other, but up to that time he had always believed that they were all of one accord, and perfectly obedient to the commands of their king. For the one thing the people of Malabar were most surprised at, and which caused them the most consternation, was the implicit obedience which the Portuguese tendered to their king, although they were so far distant from him; seeing that he had been told that even if a cabin boy were to arrive with a commission of the King of Portugal, every one would obey him. But now he observed so many differences among them, that all those on land were astonished, for they saw Afonso Dalboquerque put into a house, and the Viceroy making but little account of him, and that this thing ought not to be; but rather they ought to be great friends, and unanimous for the proper performance of the service of the King of Portugal: yet

[1] For explanation of this word, see Vol. i, page 4.

the Viceroy had sent word to him by Gaspar da India[1] that he did not intend to go back to Portugal, whereat he was much surprised, for the King D. Manuel, his brother, had written to him informing him of the Viceroy's recall and the appointment of Afonso Dalboquerque to be governor of India. Therefore he had made up his mind to send some ambassadors to Portugal to inform the King of all that was passing, and that the king, his lord, was much annoyed at the treating of Afonso Dalboquerque so ill before them all, and at the evil reports that were in circulation respecting him.

At this, André Diaz, who was there present, began to excuse the Viceroy's conduct; saying, that he was not to be blamed for the disturbances that had arisen with Afonso Dalboquerque, for the captains and all the people of India were unwilling to agree that he should return to Portugal, in so far as concerned the service of the king. But Anchecala, having concluded the business for which he had come, took his leave of the officers and went away; while André Diaz went to see the Viceroy, and repeated to him all that Anchecala had said before the officers in the factory. The Viceroy was greatly surprised at it, and said, "Does not the little he-goat of the King of Cochim know that I will order him to be taken back to that island, and will make him a *Caimal*[2] again as he used to be? and as for the he-goat of Candagora, I will punish him thoroughly well according to his deserts, for it is by him that this one is advised to talk in this manner". And with this show of anger he sent orders to Afonso Dalboquerque that he should not stir forth out of his house, nor hold any communication with the king, nor with his officers.

[1] This is probably *Gaspar Rodriguez*, the interpreter, who occurs frequently in Vol. i. The first edition also reads *Gaspar da India*.

[2] For the signification of this word, see Vol. i, page 3.

CHAPTER VII.

How Francisco de Tavora, owing to some words he had with Jorge de Melo Pereira concerning the great Afonso Dalboquerque, sent him a challenge, and what took place thereafter; and of the arrival of Diogo Lopez de Sequeira in India.

Jorge Barreto and João da Nova were so desirous that the Viceroy should stay in India, for they were the prime movers of this scheme, that they tried every means in their power to move the people to wrath against the great Afonso Dalboquerque. And they kept on going about from house to house, saying to the men that they ought to bear in mind how much they were indebted to the Viceroy, and how much more fitted than Afonso Dalboquerque he was to be Governor of India, and that the Viceroy had assured them that he was determined on no account to deliver up the government, as, indeed, they would soon see, and as things were in this state they ought not to frequent Afonso's house, nor eat with him, for they would thereby be ruining themselves.

Now inasmuch as Francisco de Tavora had been much angered at the Viceroy, and spoke very ill of him, because of injuries he had received at the hands of Jorge Barreto, who wished him harm (for in Ormuz he (Jorge) had stated to Afonso Dalboquerque that the captains had been advised to desert by him), Jorge Barreto did all he could to become reconciled with him, because he feared that as he (Francisco de Tavora) was on friendly terms with Jorge de Melo (who was a great friend of Afonso Dalboquerque, and constantly went to his house), he would be able to reckon him as a friend, and one who would go against the Viceroy. And in order to foster yet further this friendliness, the Viceroy was persuaded to permit Francisco da Tavora to repair his ship, and showed him some marks

of kindness, for this was the principal cause of his complaints.

When Francisco da Tavora found that the Viceroy was favourable to him, and had given him instructions for getting his ship repaired, he imagined that Afonso Dalboquerque no longer was likely to obtain the government of India, as the others had indeed told him, so he began to circulate ill reports concerning him, in order to ingratiate himself still further with the Viceroy. Some time afterwards, one day when Jorge de Melo happened to be in Francesco da Tavora's house at night, conversing on current events, and saying that he considered it wrong of the Viceroy to give out openly that he would not return to Portugal, and that he would not deliver India into the hands of Afonso Dalboquerque (and this too in the presence of Fernão Perez de Andrade), Francisco de Tavora said to him: "Sir. you ought not to speak ill of the Viceroy, nor defame hin" Jorge de Melo replied, "I never spoke ill of the Vicer y; and if you assert that I spoke ill of him, I must tell yo. that you do not speak the truth. But on the contrary, you yourself have oftentimes told me that you wished him ill, because he would not give you permission to repair your ship, and also because he had an enmity against you for not deserting from Ormuz when the other captains deserted. This is the truth, but now it seems you have changed sides, which is not the part of an honest man and a cavalier."

Hereupon many angry words passed between them, and next day, in the morning, Francisco da Tavora sent to Jorge de Melo a written challenge by the hands of Fernão Perez de Andrade. And when Fernão had arrived at Jorge de Melo's house, and had just given him the writing from Francisco de Tavora, there came in, close behind him, a servant of the Viceroy, who had been sent to summon Jorge de Melo before him, for he had been informed of all

that had taken place, and understood that Francisco de Tavora had done this by the advice of every one, and thought that Jorge de Melo would attend to the Viceroy's summons, and not go to the duel, but remain thereby deprived of honourable satisfaction. But Jorge de Melo saw through the affair, and told the servant to return, for he would follow at once. And as soon as the servant had departed, he took a sword and a cloak,[1] and, accompanied by one of his servants, he made his way to the rope-yard, which was the place that Francisco de Tavora had appointed for the meeting.

When he had reached the appointed spot, he sent word twice to Francisco de Tavora that he was waiting there, and begged him not to delay. But meanwhile Antonio de Sintra had arrived at Francisco de Tavora's house, and summoned him to the Viceroy's, and after they got there, the Alcaide major went to seek for Jorge de Melo at the rope-yard, where he yet remained, and took him prisoner, and as they went in at the gate of the castle the Viceroy said to him :—"I promise you, Jorge de Melo, that you shall pay me for what you have said and for what you have done." He then ordered them to shut him up in the keep,[2] with fetters on his feet, and not allow any one to speak with him. When Afonso Dalboquerque heard of the imprisonment of Jorge de Melo, he went to the Viceroy, and begged him of his kindness to liberate him, and make them two friends again. But the Viceroy replied that the time was not yet come for this, for he would first of all have to issue a commission of enquiry, and then visit with justice the one who should be found to be in fault.

Afonso Dalboquerque, as soon as he understood this, was unwilling to speak any more for the liberation of Jorge de

[1] *Bedem*, a Moorish word, according to Bluteau and the dictionaries, but I am unable to identify it with any Eastern word of allied meaning.

[2] *Torre de menagem*. See Vol. i, p. 45.

Melo; but ten days afterwards there arrived Diogo Lopez de Siquiera, who came from Portugal as chief captain of four ships, and at his request the Viceroy ordered Jorge de Melo to be set at liberty, and made them friends again. This Diogo Lopez the King D. Manuel had sent to discover Malaca,[1] but he reached Cochim in very distressed condition, for after he had set out he never sighted the land again. And having brought his interview with the Viceroy to an end, and given him an account of all that the King ordered to be done, he went away to his house, accompanied by Jorge Barreto and Antonio do Campo, who began to say many things that were ill of Afonso Dalboquerque, and how thoroughly determined all the people of India were not to consent that he should be their governor, and how they, on their part, would advise him, as friends, if he wished to get well through his business, to take care not to make any show of friendship towards Afonso Dalboquerque, and not even to venture to his house.

Three days afterwards, the Viceroy sent for Diogo Lopez de Siquiera, and in the presence of Jeronymo Teixeira told him that he was especially gratified at his arrival at this juncture of events, for he had made up his mind to go to Portugal, taking Afonso Dalboquerque along with him (as it was not good for the King's service that he should become governor of India), and that he, Diogo, should remain as chief captain of India, until the King D. Manuel should provide for this matter as he thought best. But Diogo Lopez very politely thanked him for this kind mark of

[1] "Neste mesmo anno [1508] foy Diogo Lopez de Siqueira, Almotaçel moor de Reino, por Capitão mor de quatro Nauios, a çinco de Abril para Ir, descobrir, e Conquistar, Malaca: Capitães Jeronimo Teixeira (na nâo *Sta. Clara*), Gonçalo de Souza, e João Nunes.—E Voltou Cô todas as Naos a Saluamento ao Reyno."—British Museum, Additional MS., 20902, fo. 11 (but for another account of the expedition, see fo. 11*b*). Afonso Dalboquerque subjected Malaca to the Crown of Portugal, as will be seen further on.

favour he sought to bestow upon him, but all the same declined to accept any charge which the king had not laid upon him, and he hinted that if the Viceroy really sought to do him a favour, it would be in despatching him at once to prosecute the voyage appointed to him by the king.

The Viceroy did not really intend all this that he put forward, but only desired to gain over Diogo Lopez, and have him on his side, so he took no more steps to press on him the acceptance of the government, but ordered him to repair his ships, and gave him pilots, and all that was necessary for him in great abundance for his voyage. While on his part Diogo Lopez de Siquiera, in order to keep in good favour with the Viceroy, commenced from that time forward to withdraw himself from the conversation of Afonso Dalboquerque, and to exculpate the captains for their desertion.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the requisition which Jorge Barreto and João da Nova, in accordance with the opinion of some of the captains, made to the Viceroy D. Francisco Dalmeida, that he should not deliver the government of India to Afonso Dalboquerque, and of the counsel they all took upon this matter.

For all that the Viceroy would have been glad to remain in India, nevertheless, he was in dread that the King D. Manuel would not receive him favourably, so he was ever seeking for means whereby he might let him know how great the service was that he was performing in retaining his government. And although by means of the Prior of Crato,[1] his brother, he had already essayed this, one day,

[1] Crato, or Ocrato, near Portalegre, contains a castle and a Royal Priory, which is the largest and richest house of the Order of Malta, or Knights Hospitallers, in the whole of Portugal. See Juan Alverez de Colmenar, "*Les Delices de l'Espagne et du Portugal;* and Zedler's *Uni-*

when he was talking with Jorge Barreto and João da Nova, he said to them that they could see very well how India stood in great risk of being lost if Afonso Dalboquerque remained therein; but yet he, for his part, could do nought else than return to Portugal and obey the mandates of the King his Lord, unless the captains and all the people of India made him a formal request that he should not go. For he dreaded lest the king of Cochim, by reason of the hatred which he had towards him, and by reason of the kindliness which he evinced for Afonso Dalboquerque, should write to the king of this business which had taken place from a different point of view.

Thereupon João da Nova and Jorge Barreto, who were the principal ones who wove this web, combined themselves with Antonio do Campo, André Diaz, Diogo Pereira, Antonio de Sintra, and Diogo Pirez (who was governor to D. Lourenço), and arranged a requisition for presentation to the Viceroy. And when they had drawn it up, they both of them went about from house to house to the captains and fidalgos, and showed it to them, and begged them to sign it, since they knew that Afonso Dalboquerque was a man of great inaptitude, and covetous, and of no sense, and one who knew not how to govern anything, much less so great a charge as the Empire of India. And after that many had so signed the document (in order that this requisition might go with better credit before the King D. Manuel), they made their way to the King of Cochim, and took with them Antonio de Sintra, and told the king to look well after his own interests, for Afonso Dalboquerque was in the habit of corresponding with the Çamorim, and had promised to make peace with him directly after being appointed Governor of India, and to establish in Calicut a factory house.

versal Lexicon. The Priors or Grand-Priors were usually of royal birth or noble family, and possessed not only great ecclesiastical power but a considerable amount of political influence.

They told the king, in addition, that the captains and all the people of India, by reason of the dread they felt at all these matters, and likewise by reason of what was due to their service, had prepared a requisition to the Viceroy, begging him not to leave India, and that they desired him earnestly of his graciousness that he on his part would deign to be favourable to this their business, for in all the country there could not be found any one who with better reason than himself ought to condole with them at the turn the King of Portugal's affairs had taken.

'To them the King of Cochim made answer that he did not intend to do such a thing, because it did not appear that it would be to the service of the King of Portugal to do so: but on the contrary he thought it wrong of the Viceroy not to resign the government of India to Afonso Dalboquerque, in accordance with the commands of the King of Portugal. It was not long before the Viceroy was informed of the replies of the King of Cochim, and thereupon he sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque that the officers of the factory were complaining that the king was unwilling to send any pepper to the scales, out of love for him; and, therefore, he (Afonso) must take care not to send any more messages to the king. And so Afonso Dalboquerque, in order not to give occasion for quarrelling, withdrew himself from all communication with the king. And now that João da Nova and Jorge Barreto had completed their documents, on a Monday, the fifteenth day of May, in the year fifteen hundred and nine, the Viceroy commanded that all the captains of India, and the fidalgos, who were in Cochim, should be called to a council. Some of these captains were inimical to Afonso Dalboquerque, because he had accused them of the weakness they had shown in letting D. Lourenço, his chief captain, be dashed to pieces, especially Diogo Pirez, D. Lourenço's governor.

It was on the occasion of this calamity that D. Lourenço,

when he saw Diogo Pirez going down the river in the galley (according to the relation afterwards given by Alvaro Lopez, master of his ship, who was then taken captive), said to him:—"O thou traitor of a Jew, get thee far away from me, for I promise thee that if I escape from this, since I have been deceived with thee, before my father, I will kill thee with my fists, for thou couldst have assisted me with the galley, but thou wouldst not."

There were present also at this meeting the captains who had fled from Ormuz, and Antonio de Mendonça, Manuel Peçanha, and Diogo Lopez de Siqueira. When all were met together, Jorge Barreto, who was the one on whom it devolved to open the business, stood up and declared that these lords who were present there requested him with one accord, not to deliver India to Afonso Dalboquerque until his Highness should be informed of the wickedness and tyrannies that he had committed in the kingdom of Ormuz, as could be seen set out in the articles which they there and then laid before the Viceroy, together with the formal requisition.

Hereupon the Viceroy ordered the immediate reading of the text of the requisition and the articles, before all, by Antonio de Sintra. And when they had been read, he told them that it was their duty to observe carefully the matter into which they were entering, because that business was of great importance. And if he were to do that which they desired of him, they on their part would have to write to the king that they had advised him so to do; for his Highness had confided the state of India to their forethought and sense. "And principally," he added, "let Senhor Manuel Peçanha, who is here present, look to it; for the King our Lord orders that if I die, he is to remain governing India, therefore it properly falls upon him to see to these matters."

As soon as the Viceroy had uttered these words, Manuel

Peçanha exclaimed:—"Sir, we cannot consent to your lordship going to Portugal; for it is no service to the king to yield the government of India to Afonso Dalboquerque, for the reasons that are specified in this requisition. And, inasmuch as we are all in a state of great concern, it is most probable that, if your lordship goes, all will have to go in your company. This I state publicly, for I do not pretend to anything more here beyond the service due to the king." So Manuel Peçanha made an end of his arguments, and all agreed that the Viceroy ought not to go to Portugal, but to govern India until the King our Lord should be informed of all this, and ordain what seemed most befitting for his service. And notwithstanding that there were many persons in this council who had uttered evil words against Afonso Dalboquerque, and signed the requisition, yet when they went out they became aware of their errors, and sent to ask his forgiveness; for they had done this, they said, out of dread of dishonouring the Viceroy. Yet I cannot admit this as any excuse for them, seeing that the state of the king, however far off it may be, should never be a single hour removed from its obedience to him, and from his disposal, even at the cost of life, much less threats and dishonour.

When the Viceroy had arranged this in the manner he liked best, he gave orders to Antonio de Sintra to draw up an indictment against Afonso Dalboquerque from these articles, which were in number ninety-six; he wrote, too, to Cogeatar, if he had any complaints to make against Afonso Dalboquerque, to send some person who should come and prefer the accusation, for he would see that justice was done. As soon as the indictment had been drawn up, the Viceroy commanded Antonio de Sintra to keep it in his possession, and well taken care of until the arrival of the ships from Portugal, when there would be an opportunity of conferring with the chief captain concerning the best course to be pursued.

But Afonso Dalboquerque became aware of their doings, and knew that the Viceroy was desirous of ensnaring him in some difficulties, so in order that they should not lay anything to his charge without sufficient reason, he adopted as a very safe one, the precaution of not venturing out of his house, and of leading that kind of life which he could most quietly pass in the service of the king. And I thoroughly believe that had he not done so, it would not have been possible to avoid a great revolt in India; but his endurance was so great, that there was not a single person who heard him speak ill, or even complain, of those whom he had reason to reproach, because of their former friendship with him, for having signed the requisition, nor yet for having said that he was unable to govern India. And it was well-known after he became captain-general, what he did and how he carried on the government. But it is to be believed that a man so honourable and so much a cavalier as the Viceroy (had he been at that time alive), must have been much grieved at having given so much dishonour and so many affronts as he did, by evil counsel, to this great captain.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the events which took place after the council, and how the Viceroy gave orders for the apprehension of João de Christus, Friar of the Order of St. Eloy, and what happened thereupon.

Now that it had been determined by all the fidalgos and captains that the Viceroy should not go to Portugal, but remain in the government of India, thenceforth many men took upon themselves the boldness of showing all the discourtesy they could towards Afonso Dalboquerque, with the object of doing or saying something or other whereby they could calumniate him. But he saw through the conspiracy which they had entered upon, to the prejudice of his honour

in order to curry favour with the Viceroy; and, therefore, began to withdraw himself from conversation with them. And when several days had elapsed, during which he had not gone out of doors, one day, in the morning, he went out to the shore, accompanied by his servants (for now no one ventured to be seen in his company) to look at the ship *Cirne*, which was undergoing repair. And as he passed by the door of Antonio do Campo's house, Jorge Barreto and Fero Barreto, who were in the house, came to the window and began to mock him with disgusting noises, and called out "Jew!" and "traitor!" But Afonso Dalboquerque kept on his way without replying to them, and after spending some time on the shore, he returned home by another way.

Jorge Barreto, Pero Barreto, and Antonio do Campo were, however, not content with the endurance of Afonso Dalboquerque, so they all three made their way to the shore, but by the time they reached it he had already gone away; and then they commenced saying that if they had found him there, they would have broken his head for him; for he was, they said, so vain and so ill-bred, that he would not speak to Jorge Barreto, but had said that it was against the king's service to speak to him, yet he would be made to pay for this that he had said. Hereupon, Garcia de Sousa, who happened to be within hearing of this affair (he was an honest fidalgo and kept himself aloof from all these disturbances), reproved them very strongly for the expressions which they used, and went straightway to the Viceroy, and said to him :—" Sir, you have always shown me much regard, and bestowed on me great honour, and I shall ever owe you service for it, as I rightly should; and not only on this account, but also because it is proper for your service, I have to tell you of something which has just taken place before me on the shore, which does not appear right to me." And then he related to him all that Jorge Barreto, Pero

Barreto, and Antonio do Campo had said to [and about] Afonso Dalboquerque; and how João da Nova and Antonio de Sintra were in the habit of passing every night by his door, singing verses upon him which were very discourteous. "And when your lordship was in Diu," he added, "Jorge Barreto ordered them by night to wound his men; and Francisco de Tavora, when a page of Afonso Dalboquerque passed by him without taking off his cap, took the page and kicked him frequently, and pulled his hair. And they do all these things out of an idea that thereby they are doing you a service, but it may be that your lordship has no knowledge of it, so I tell you that you may order them to be very well punished for it."

The Viceroy said that he was very much obliged to him for this information, and that he did not know of their deeds, for Afonso Dalboquerque was such a miserable fellow that there was no one who cared for him, yet he had already sometimes told João da Nova that he was a foolish chatterer, and that he could not countenance him in such proceedings, but he would soon provide about the matter. Yet the Viceroy had so little intention of chastising them, that three days afterwards, when Jorge Barreto was proceeding on horseback to the castle, he came upon Afonso Dalboquerque's purveyor in the road, and told him to go back. But when the man would not, alleging that he had permission from the Viceroy to go thither, he said to him:— "You goat, will you not do what I command you?" And then he got down off his horse, and beat him several times with a stick, and carried him before him up to the house of the magistrate *(Meirinho)*, and ordered him to be placed in gaol. When the Viceroy knew this he ordered the man to be released; but yet he did not reprove Jorge Barreto for what he had done.

And notwithstanding that everybody was intimidated, and did not dare to utter any complaints against the Vice-

roy's doings, nevertheless, when some noblemen were found in the house of João de Christus (a brother of the order of Saint Eloi, and of very virtuous life), they were much surprised that the Viceroy did not reprove him. João de Christus, who was an upright man, remarked:—"I really believe that India cannot endure long with all this uproar, for Jorge Barreto, who is the deadly enemy of Afonso Dalboquerque, assaults his purveyor and gets off without either punishment or reprehension of it." Diogo Rodriguez, the scrivener of the ship *Flor de la mar*, who happened to be present, heard this, and went to João da Nova (thinking to give him a capital opportunity for exercising his ill-will), and repeated to him all that João de Christus had said.

Immediately thereupon, João de Nova made his way to Jorge Barreto, and then both proceeded to the Viceroy, and related the matter to him; and began to demonstrate to the Viceroy that if João de Christus on the occasion of Jorge Barrato cudgelling a villain (even though he were Afonso Dalboquerque's purveyor), could say that by reason of such things India would be ruined, this could not be so said unless the speaker knew for certain that Afonso Dalboquerque had resolved upon some such act of treason as to seize the fortress and put Jorge Barreto to death: and therefore his lordship ought to issue immediate orders for the apprehension of João de Christus, and keep him in irons until he should confess the truth, for he was very friendly towards Afonso Dalboquerque, and never went out of doors. The Viceroy received favourably all this that they said against Afonso Dalboquerque, and without any further enquiry into the allegations, but solely on the report of these men, ordered the immediate arrest of João de Christus, and loaded him with irons, and put him in a cellar in the fortress, and allowed no one to have any communication with him.

CHAPTER X.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, upon hearing of the apprehension of João de Christus, went to speak with the Viceroy in his behalf: and how the Viceroy gave orders to take Afonso Dalboquerque and carry him to Cananor, and raze to the ground the houses wherein he lived.

As soon as the news of the imprisonment of João de Christus was known in Cochim, all gave themselves up for dead, for they could not divine the reason of his imprisonment. But Afonso Dalboquerque, who did not know all of these uproars, proceeded to the Viceroy's, and begged him very earnestly of his kindness to give orders for the release of João de Christus, for he was so good a man that he could not believe that there was anything in him for which he should deserve that imprisonment.

The Viceroy replied very dryly that he should let justice take her course, for the Vicar-General would take good care to order his release, provided that in the indictment which was to be laid against him he should find no cause of blame; as for himself he knew nothing about it. Afonso Dalboquerque replied:—"Sir, I do not understand this justice of yours, apprehending, indeed, João de Christus without any reason, when he is a very virtuous man, and yet not ordering the hanging of Domingos Pousado, for I know very well that he was yesterday caught in the act of stealing two hundred cruzados, but as he was in Antonio do Campo's house, nothing is said about him."

The Viceroy could not bear to be spoken to about these men, so he rejoined that many had complained of him (Afonso) also for the insults he had visited upon them at Ormuz, and on the way there; but he had never spoken about the matter to him, to ask him the reason of such conduct. Afonso Dalboquerque replied, that all the harm he had done was to execute justice upon those who deserved

it, and let him look to his instruction, and therein he would see that there was no appeal from one appellate jurisdiction to another, but only to the king, who up to that hour had delegated that superior power to no one. The Viceroy, who had now become enraged, answered, that he (Afonso) did not understand what justice was, nor knew how to exercise it; but that he (the Viceroy) understood it, for he was not so much a Viceroy, but a King, so long as he held that office, as indeed the traitorous rascal, Gaspar Pereira, could inform him. Afonso Dalboquerque retorted that he had reached the age of sixty years, and had lived till then without the advice of Gaspar Pereira, and how could it be that he thought he required such advice now more than ever. But if he, the Viceroy, was what he represented himself to be, why did he not order him to be hanged, since he had the power to do it?

The answer of the Viceroy to this was, that after the victory which Our Lord had given him over the Rumes, he had continually dissembled his anger with him, and did not wish to punish him, but would carry him to Portugal, where the king would order his execution as a traitor. When Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that the Viceroy did not intend to liberate João de Christus, he took his leave, for he did not wish to commit himself in any words with him, and returned to his house. And so soon as he had gone, the Viceroy gave orders for placing a strong guard over the fortress of Cochim, remembering what Jorge Barreto[1] and João de Nova had told him, and for issuing several proclamations to the effect that no one should carry arms neither by day nor by night, excepting only his servants, and the captains, and some persons specially licensed to do so; and he also ordered the arrest of Gaspar Pereira and

[1] See the genealogy of Jorge Barreto in the British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 189, fol. 506, entitled "Livro das Linhagês de Portugal, ordenado por Dõ Antonio de Lima P[erei]ra, anno 1620".

Ruy de Araujo, and their solitary confinement, loaded with irons, in the fortress, and no one to talk with them; and he also ordered the houses in which they had lived to be thrown down, and razed to the ground.

And as the intention of these men was to eject Afonso Dalboquerque from Cochim, thinking that they could effect this by means of his confessor, Francisco, a Friar of the Order of Avis,[1] they went to him and told him that if he would say how Afonso Dalboquerque had desired to put Cogeatar to death, and raise himself up in rebellion at Ormuz, that they on their part would prevail upon the Viceroy to show him some marks of favour, and give him substantial rewards for so doing. Friar Francisco replied to them that he knew nothing more of Afonso Dalboquerque than that he saw how very well he served the king, and captured towns and places in the kingdom of Ormuz, and he would say so to the Viceroy, if they liked. So, as they could get nothing from Friar Francisco to turn to advantage in their hands, they prevailed on the Viceroy to order the arrest of Duarte de Sousa,[2] who was a fidalgo indeed, but poor, and had come from Portugal in banishment, accompanying the fleet of Afonso Dalboquerque, and had remained in his company during the conquest of the kingdom of Ormuz, and served him so well that Afonso Dalboquerque remitted his

[1] See vol. i, Introduction, p. vii, note 2.

[2] "Duarte de Sousa, filho segundo bastardo do Comendador mor Gonçallo de Sousa, foi Comendador do Mogadouro da ordem de Chr[ist]o, e houve bastardos Ruy de Sousa, Gonçallo de Sousa, João de Sousa, Manoel de Sousa, Cri[stin]a de Sousa, *etc.* Este Duarte de Sousa pellos tempos poderia ser aquelle que servio na India em tempo de VizoRey Dom Francisco de Almeida em que foi Castigado por aconselhar a A[fons]o de Albuquerque, indo suçeder naquelle Governo, que o tomasse por forsa contra vontade do dito VizoRey".—British Museum, Additional MS. 28460, folio 146*b*.

"Duarte de Sousa, . . . irmão de Fernão de Sousa, Comendador mor, . . . houve bastardos Ruy de Sousa, e Gonçalo de Sousa, que morrerão na India Solteyros," *etc.*—Brit. Mus., MS. Lansdowne 189, folio 65*b*.

banishment, and ordered the employment both of him and of a son he had, at a certain salary. Now since this Duarte de Sousa lived at Afonso Dalboquerque's table, and served him, and João de Nova never could entice him away from this allegiance, they imputed to him the design of putting the Viceroy to death, although he was perfectly innocent of it, and arrested him, and put him to the rack.[1]

When João de Nova and Jorge Barreto perceived that neither by means of Friar Francisco, nor yet by means of Duarte de Sousa, they could give effect to the plot they were embarking in, they entered into a conspiracy with Antonio do Campo, who was well versed in the language of Malabar, and concocted a letter from the Prince of Calicut to Afonso Dalboquerque, and his reply to him, inserting in it all the malicious things they required to say, and managed with great secrecy that the two documents should fall into the hands of the Viceroy. And the Viceroy, as soon as he saw the letters, being concerned at what was therein contained, ordered the arrest of Afonso Dalboquerque; and immediately, that very day, he was embarked on board the vessel of Martin Coelho, who had orders to carry with him none but three servants for his attendance, and to deliver him over to Lourenço de Brito, captain of the fortress, who was to place him in the tower, and keep a good guard over him.

On the departure of Martin Coelho, the Viceroy gave orders for throwing down the houses which Afonso Dalboquerque had occupied, and took out of them everything that was found there, which produced great consternation in the king of Cochim and the *Naires*, for he said that it was a case of treason, and very necessary for the good of the king of Portugal's estate that he should punish Afonso Dalboquerque with rigour. And as by this time Diogo Lopez de Sequeira was now ready with his fleet to set out

[1] *Dar tratos*, literally, to give (one) a treat.

for Malaca, and as Garcia de Sousa was to go in his company as captain of one of the ships, the Viceroy ordered that Ruy de Araujo and Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco should be delivered over to them, to be taken in their charge to Malaca, and thence to proceed with Diogo Lopez de Sequeira[1] to Portugal, as they were implicated in these matters concerning Afonso Dalboquerque.

CHAPTER XI.

How D. Fernando Coutinho, Marshal of Portugal, arrived at Cananor, and carried with him the great Afonso Dalboquerque, to govern India.

The affairs of India were in the state which I have described, when the Marshal D. Fernando Coutinho arrived at Cananor, having set out from the kingdom of Portugal as chief captain of a fleet of fifteen sail. And in Cananor the Marshal, who proceeded to take up his quarters the

[1] "Diogo Lopez de Sequeyra filho segundo deste Lopo Vaz[de Sequeyra] foy Alcayde Mor do Laudroal, e Almotaçe Mor (*i.e.*, Chief Magistrate of the Markets) d' ElRey Dom João o 3°. E foy Governador da India, e casado com Dona Maria Freyre, filha de N°. Francisco Freyre de Beja, que elle quizera matar por dizerem fizera adulterio com Christovão Freyre seu Primo com Irmão quando foy a iª vez a India", *etc.*—Brit. Mus., MS. Lansdowne 189, f°. 588*b*. The following remarkable incident is related of his voyage in 1518:—"Na paragem do Cabo da Boa Esperança hum peixe deu huma encontrada na naô de D. João de Lima, que cuidarão alguñs no estremecer, que ella fez, que dera em algum penedo, e acudindo logo â bomba, parecendo, que a naô devia fazer agoa, acharão que nam fazia mais, que a ordinaria, e dando depois em Cochim pender â naô acharamlhe metido no Costado hum focinho de peixe, que seria do Comprimento de dous palmos, e meyo agudo na ponta, preto e duro â Maneira de Corno das alimarias, a que os Gregos chamam Rhinoceros, e os Indios Ganda, somente tinha esta peixe huma differença, que a Crespidam de sua superficie era â maneira de groza de ferro tam dura, que o limava, como faz huma lima de dura tempera."—Brit. Mus., Additional MS. 20902, f°. 21. The same account is given in other words in Barretto de Resende's work, the Sloane MS. 197, f°. 15.

very day he landed with Lourenço de Brito, found the great Afonso Dalboquerque, who had already been confined there for three months by order of the Viceroy.

Afonso Dalboquerque was much pleased at the arrival of the Marshal, for besides that he was his nephew, he felt certain that on his coming the dissensions which had arisen between himself and the Viceroy would come to an end, and he recounted to him all the insults that had been shown to him, and all the rest that had happened to him. The Marshal, because his time was short, in which to perform what had been appointed for him to do before his departure for Portugal, was unwilling to be delayed, and proceeded to embark on the following morning, taking with him Afonso Dalboquerque, in obedience to his commands, as Captain-general of India; for it was to Afonso Dalboquerque, as his governor of India, that the King D. Manuel had ordered the Marshal to deliver all the provisions and specie which he carried. And the Marshal told Lourenço de Brito, that he, for his part, could not perceive where the faults of Afonso Dalboquerque lay, for the Viceroy to be obliged to arrest him, and to refuse to deliver up the government of India to him.

Lourenço de Brito replied that all he knew about it was, that the Viceroy had sent him to be kept in custody, and to be carefully guarded, and if the Viceroy had done thereby anything which he should not have done, the king must take account of this from him. When this conversation was at an end, the Marshal took his leave of Lourenço de Brito, and set out and reached Cochim on the twenty-ninth day of October; and on his arrival the Viceroy commanded Antonio de Sintra to pay him a visit. And this Antonio, as soon as he boarded the vessel and beheld Afonso Dalboquerque, became quite beside himself with astonishment. But after paying the visit to the Marshal, he began talking about other matters, and said unadvisedly to Afonso Dal-

boquerque, that the Viceroy had now become aware that the letter alleged to have been written by him to the Prince of Calicut was a forgery. He (Afonso) was unwilling to reply to him, for he well knew that Antonio de Sintra had been a party to this fraud.

Then Antonio de Sintra took his leave of the Marshal, and returned with a message for the Viceroy. But the captains and fidalgos, who had signed the requisition, so soon as they were informed that the Marshal brought with him Afonso Dalboquerque, and obeyed him as Captain-general of India, became beside themselves, and knew not how to make up their minds for any further action. Nevertheless, Afonso Dalboquerque, with his accustomed inviolable serenity and frankness of spirit forgave them, as will be shown further on. And on the following morning both (the Marshal and Afonso Dalboquerque) disembarked, and the Viceroy came down to the shore to receive them, accompanied by all those who were of his party; for the whole of the other party were unwilling to accompany him. And in this manner all proceeded to the church, and when the service was over, the Viceroy retired to the fortress, and the Marshal and Afonso Dalboquerque to the houses which had been appointed for their occupation. And on that very night there arrived Lourenço de Brito in a *caravela*,[1] making this journey to visit the Viceroy, to know how the Marshal would manage with him, and also to arrange for his voyage, for he was determined to go with him back to Portugal, and not remain in India with Afonso Dalboquerque.

And it was on a Saturday morning, the fourth day of November, that the Marshal went to the fortress to pay a visit to the Viceroy, and had a long conversation with him on many subjects in relation to the dissensions that he had with Afonso Dalboquerque; and tried all in his power to reconcile them again, but he could never prevail upon

[1] See vol. i, page 4, note 3.

Afonso Dalboquerque to let him effect his purpose. And although the Viceroy held a power from the king to retain the government of India until his departure, yet when he observed the uproars that the people made, he surrendered the government of India to Afonso Dalboquerque in order that he should not be troubled with any ill messages, and to avoid having any further annoyance about him. And then he embarked on the Sunday following, which was the fifth day of the month of November, and there he remained on board, arranging for his departure until the tenth day of the same month, when he left for Cananor, in the ship *Garça* (i.e. *Heron*), wherein he intended to make the voyage to Portugal, telling the captains who were to convoy him to proceed at once to follow him up closely, for it was his intention to make the journey from Cananor.

Thereupon Jorge de Melo Pereira, captain of the ship *Betlem* (i.e. *Bethlehem*), on hearing this order of the Viceroy, went to the Marshal and told him that he could not, for anything in the world, go in the company of the Viceroy, who was ill disposed towards him, and had had him in custody, since he feared that he would maltreat him on the way, and therefore he would much prefer to wait and go with him (the Marshal). The Marshal went to the Viceroy, and informed him of the demur which Jorge de Melo made to going in his company, and begged him graciously to forget and forgive past matters, and to be pleased to take him with him, for he would be a good companion; and so indeed it turned out, for at the watering-place of Saldanha, where the Viceroy was murdered,[1] there was not a relative nor a friend who behaved with greater kindness to him than did Jorge de Melo. The Viceroy took with him Jorge Barreto, Antonio do Campo, and Manuel Telez, and many other men of noble rank, whom they induced to go by putting them in great dread of remaining behind with Afonso Dal-

[1] See vol. i, page 33, note 2.

BRIT. MUS., SLOANE MS. 197, FOLIO 9.

P. BARRETO DE RESENDE'S PORTRAIT OF

D. FRANCISCO DALMEIDA.

boquerque. There is much that I could write about this; but, in order to avoid scandalising the living, I will be silent about what I know concerning the dead. And João da Nova, who was the one who walked in these disturbances with Jorge Barreto, died at Cochim in the month of July in the year 'nine, so reduced in circumstances that he had no one to care for him; but Afonso Dalboquerque forgot all that he had been guilty of towards him, and only held in memory that this man had been his companion in arms, and had helped him in all the troubles connected with the conquest of the kingdom of Ormuz like a cavalier, and ordered him to be buried at his expense, with the usual display of torches, and himself accompanied the body to the grave, clad all in mourning, a thing the Viceroy would not have done. These are the rewards which the world gives to him who does not do what he ought to do.

As soon as the Viceroy had sailed for Cananor, the King of Cochim came to pay a visit to Afonso Dalboquerque and to the Marshal; and when the formalities of the visit had passed, the Marshal said to the King, that he begged his royal Lordship very earnestly to command his officers to get ready fifteen thousand *quintals* of pepper which were required for loading the cargoes of the ships, for the Viceroy had told him that he could load them all with pepper for them if he pleased. The King said that he would have been very happy to serve him if he could, but it was impossible for him to have so much pepper, because in the year just passed there had been so slack a guard kept on that coast, that six vessels of Calicut had sailed, loaded with pepper, for the Straits of Meca;[1] and other ships, which took in the same cargo in Coulão and Caecoulão,[2] had sailed for

[1] See vol. i, page 58, note 1; and the "Portus da mequa" on the map in vol. i, at page 80.

[2] *Caecoulão* is the *Calecoulan* of Pedro Berthelot's chart, MS. Sloane 197, fo. 164; and the *Kayan Koulam* of modern maps of India, in Tra-

Choramandel. And this, he averred, was the truthful reason why he had no old pepper. And he added that it was not right for André Diaz and Antonio de Sintra to tell him (the Marshal), on the part of the Viceroy, in the presence of many persons, that he was unwilling to forward pepper to the factory because Afonso Dalboquerque had given him a hundred *cruzados* by way of a bribe, threatening him that unless the pepper were at once forthcoming, another king would be set up in his place, who was the friend of the Çamorim, and would make peace with him. And that he (the King) could not believe him to be capable of such an action as this piece of villainy which the Viceroy had threatened to do if the ships were not laden, and that quickly; for, apart from the service he would be doing to the King his brother, it was not likely that he would care to lose six thousand *cruzados*, which would come to him as dues out of the transaction, for the sake of a hundred *cruzados* of bribe which Afonso Dalboquerque was stated to have given him.

The Marshal told him not to be dismayed, for this was a way of speaking which the officers affected, but the Viceroy ought not to send such messages as that he complained of, for all of them were his vassals, and the King his lord had ordered them all to obey him. At this reply of the Marshal the King of Cochim was quite contented, and took leave of him, and of Afonso Dalboquerque, undertaking on his part to spare no trouble in forwarding all the pepper there could be found to the scales.

vancore, Madras Presidency, 9 deg. 10 min. N., 76 deg. 31 min. E., on the coast a little to the north of Coulão, Quilon, or Collum.

CHAPTER XII.

How the Marshal told the great Afonso Dalboquerque that the King D. Manuel gave orders for the destruction of the City of Calicut, and of what passed in this matter.

When this interview which the Marshal held with the King of Cochim had come to an end, because his object was to destroy Calicut before he set out for Portugal, in order not to lose any time on the following day, he summoned to his house Gaspar Pereira, Secretary of India, and told him privately that the King had trusted greatly in him, and ordered him in his instructions to destroy Calicut before his departure, if it should seem good to Afonso Dalboquerque, and therefore he begged him graciously to be minded to help him in the matter (for if this project were to fail, he would not have come to India on any account, seeing that his ancestors were never mere merchants), and that up to this time Afonso Dalboquerque had not mentioned the matter to any one, although Manuel Peçanha, if the reports that were in circulation at Cochim were true, had attempted to sound him on the subject very often, making light of the matter. And he added that he, Gaspar, must obtain knowledge of Afonso Dalboquerque's opinion; and if he should appear to have doubts, he must remove them, for there were some persons who would make him believe that Afonso Dalboquerque would disapprove of the plan.

Gaspar Pereira told him that it could not be that there would be any opposition, for he, Afonso, had always evinced a hearty good will towards the destruction of Calicut, and he was sure Afonso Dalboquerque would reward him for the intelligence when he announced it, and therefore he would not shrink from mentioning the matter to him, and for his part he would do all he could to be of use in every way;

yet, he said, he would beg him earnestly to proceed cautiously and slowly in the affair, taking advice from all persons who had any good understanding of it, for it was not such a light thing as Manuel Peçanha would have them to suppose. When this interview was over, Gaspar Pereira made his way to Afonso Dalboquerque's house, and recounted to him what had passed between himself and the Marshal; and, as Afonso Dalboquerque was anxious to gratify the Marshal in all things, one day, when he was in his house, and Gaspar Pereira present before them, he told him (being anxious to remove from the Marshal's mind that suspicion he had of his aversion to the enterprise) that he was there ready to obey him, and with regard to the Calicut business he had nothing to say against it; for, from the first occasion of his coming to India, he had become so wearied with the Çamorim,[1] that there was nothing he would undertake with greater pleasure than the destruction of Calicut; that this is what he must believe of him, and not what the reports said of him.

The Marshal replied, that since he was agreed to do him that favour, it must be done forthwith, for it was now the beginning of December, and it was necessary that some time should remain, when the business was over, for loading the ships, because the King D. Manuel had ordered him in his instructions to effect the destruction of Calicut before his departure. Afonso Dalboquerque said there was no need of instructions in this case, for it was sufficient for him that it was the desire of the Marshal, and much more was he willing to enter upon it as the King had written to him respecting it; but it would be as well, he said, that an account of the proposed operations should be laid privately before certain people before it was laid openly before the consideration of all. The Marshal quite agreed with this proposal, and they consulted with Manuel Peçanha, and

[1] See vol. i, page 1.

with others, and all passed a favourable opinion concerning it.

Having thus arranged the preliminaries, in order to proceed more cautiously and artfully in the matter, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders to Lionel Coutinho and to Bras Teixeira, who were just ready with two ships to go to Baticalá[1] to bring cloves for the ships' cargoes, to make their way to Onor,[2] and announce to Timoja that he, Afonso, was getting himself ready with the Indian fleet, and with merchant vessels, to fall upon Goa, before they went off to Portugal; and that he would ask him for permission to be granted for Lionel Coutinho to enter the river in order to ascertain its depth; and that if he, Timoja, were able to come to Cochim to consult with the Marshal, so much the better, but if not, at any rate he was to hold himself in readiness to be with him in that expedition.

Then the two captains set sail, and Lionel Coutinho had audience with Timoja, and delivered the message he had received. Timoja replied that he should assure the captain-general that he was not prepared just then to make a journey to Cochim; and that, as for the river of Goa, there was no need for any one to see it, for he himself had seen it, and that was sufficient, and that Goa was alone without any garrison, and all the inhabitants in dreadful apprehension of the Portuguese; and that he, the Marshal, could take the city into his own hands whenever he liked to come; and that he himself would be in readiness with his men to co-operate with him in the affair; and he added that the Viceroy had put many affronts upon him, but he lived in hopes that the time would come when he could ask Afonso Dalboquerque to remove them, for he had always been a loyal servant of the King of Portugal, and in so serving him had received many losses, and never any satisfaction for them.

[1] Baticalá, a fortress on the coast of Malabar, about thirty leagues from Goa.—*Cam. Lus., index.* [2] See vol. i, page 148, note 1.

CHAPTER XIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque and the Marshal gave the King of Cochim an account of their intended expedition to Calicut; and of the council they held with the Captains thereupon.

Two days after the departure of the captains, the great Afonso Dalboquerque and the Marshal paid a visit to the King of Cochim and gave him an account of this their determination, and told him how the King D. Manuel had ordered the destruction of Calicut. And they desired him earnestly that he would be willing to go in person with his army to help them in this enterprise, and attack some place in the interior, where the Çamorin would be forced to go to the rescue. But if he could not so go, at least he should write to some lord of the mountainous country, who was on amicable terms with him, to carry out such a manœuvre. And because they had no certain information of the internal condition of Calicut, after that it was currently reported in Cochim that an expedition was being got ready against the city, they begged him greatly of his favour to despatch certain Brahmins secretly to find out where the Çamorin was, and what sort of army he had, and if he had made any preparation of defence near the landing-place.

The King lauded very highly the determination at which the captains had arrived, for all the dissensions that existed between himself and the Çamorin were owing to the great friendship which he showed towards the King of Portugal. And he said he would forthwith send and find out the condition that everything was in. But as for going himself, they ought not to ask that of him, for Gaspar da India knew very well that he went there for four or five months every year, and hereby expended all the revenues which he obtained from Cochim, and that the waters were still very extensive, and the rivers could not be passed, but neverthe-

less he would write to certain lords, his vassals and friends, to commence the war in the interior frontier country.

Afonso Dalboquerque and the Marshal were convinced by the arguments of the king, and begged him to supply them with twenty *paráos*, to be used in disembarking the soldiers. The King gave them with good will, and also offered them many *catures*[1] and men if they were required, and then took his leave of them, and went to his own house, and wrote immediately to certain lords of the mountainous country recounting to them the determination at which all had arrived; and he ordered also two Brahmins, honourable men, in whom he reposed great confidence, to proceed to Calicut and obtain information of the state of the city, and the extent of its army. These Brahmins, by reason of their religious profession, can go through all these parts, from one kingdom to another, without anyone demanding of them whence they come, or what they want.

And when the King had gone back to his house, Afonso Dalboquerque summoned all the captains and the fidalgos that there were in the fleet, in order to give them an account of this business. These were the following: D. Antonio da Noronha, Lionel Coutinho, Manuel Peçanha, Pedrafonso de Aguiar, Ruy Freire, Gomez Freire, Francisco de Sousa Mancias, Jorge da Cunha, Francisco de Sá, Francisco Corvinel, Fernão Perez de Andrade, Simão de Andrade (his brother), Jorge da Silveira, Manuel de Lacerda, Bastião de Miranda, Antonio da Costa, Duarte de Melo, Francisco Pereira Coutinho, Simão Martinz, Gonçalo Dalmeida, Gaspar da India who was the Interpreter, and Gaspar Pereira the Secretary.[2]

[1] *Catur*, a sort of small man-of-war.—*Vieyra.*

[2] Several of these captains had come in the fleet of fifteen sail, with Dom Fernando Coutinho the Marshal, from Portugal in this year 1509, as may be gathered from the following passage in a manuscript already quoted, which also relates in brief terms the principal exploits of the Marshal, and the manner of his death:—

And when all had assembled together, before entering into the debate, the Marshal drew himself apart with Afonso Dalboquerque, and in the presence of Gaspar Pereira told him that the King, his lord, had ordered in the instructions that the affair at Calicut was to be carried out, provided that he, Afonso, approved of the design (as he had indeed already intimated to him); and therefore he

"Anno de 1509. Dom Fernando Coutinho, mariçhal de Portugal, Capitão moor de quinze naos, partio a doze de Março: Capitães Francisco de Sá, Bastião de Souza d'Elvas, Leonel Coutinho, Ruy Freire, Jorge da Cunha, Francisco de Sousa Mancias, Rodrigo Rabello de Castello branco; Braz Teixeira, Jorge Lopes Bixorda Armador, Francisco Coruinel armador, Fernão Juzarte, Gomez Freire, Francisco Marecos que sò não pasou à India.

"15 Vellas a 12 de Março, em que levou tres mil homens.

"Nestas naôs foy ordem a Affonso de Albuquerque para governar a India.

"Francisco de Sâ era Vedor da Fazenda do Porto. Lionel Coutinho era filho de Vasco Fernandez Coutinho, e foy na naô *Flor de Rosa*. Ruŷ Freire era filho de Nuno Fernandez Freire, e foy na naô *Garça*. Jorge da Cunha na naô Magdalena. Rodrigo Rabello de Castelbranco na naô *Sta. Clara*. Bras Teixeira na *Ferroa*. Francisco Marecos em *S. Francisco*. Jorge Lopes Bixordo Armador na sua naô. Francisco Corvinel armador na sua naô, etc.

"Successo. De todas estes quinze naôs somente a de Francisco Marecos nam passou à India.

"O Marichal meteo de posse do governo da India a Affonço de Albuquerque, e Dom Francisco de Almeida se embarcou para o Reino por asy o mandar Sua Alteza.

"Depois de partido o Visorey para o Reino forão o gouernador e Mariçhal cõ toda a armada sobre Calicut onde desembarcarão, e tendo destrojda e saqueada a Cidade foy morto o Mariçhal, e mintos Capitães e soldados.

"No fim deste anno entregou o V. Rey a governança Affonço de Albuquerque, E se veyo para o Reino co tres Naos, e foy morto pellos Cafres, na aguada do Saldanha, este Visorey tomou por força de Armas duas Cidades populosas na India, fez tres Reys tributarios a Coroa de Portugal, e fez as primeiras quatro fortalezas de Pedra é cal, que os Portugueses teverao na India, Venceo os Turcos de Soldão sobre a Cidade de Dyo e desbaratou a sua Armada: foy muy valeroso, Inteiro na Justiça, desprezador da fazenda e zelloso do Serviço de seu Rey."—Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 20902, fo. 12.

begged him, before he entered into the debate, of his graciousness to settle beforehand, between the two of them, what was the most proper course to pursue, so as not to go running any hazard at the caprice of four young captains who did not understand how to carry on a war.

Afonso Dalboquerque, in consideration of what had already taken place with the Marshal, told him that if he said this because he thought that he, Afonso, repented of what he had promised, as Manuel Peçanha had persuaded him to think, he must not believe it, for he had never refused to fight, much more was he desirous of fighting since he had two thousand Portuguese soldiers, a number sufficient to conquer the world, not to mention the Çamorin, whom indeed he was anxious to see overthrown. But, he added, so important an affair as this is, in which all the captains are going to adventure their persons, ought not to be undertaken without giving them an account of it, and it was for this reason that he had been induced to give orders for their assembling.

It appeared to the Marshal, by that which Afonso Dalboquerque said, that his whole mind was set upon thwarting this business, with the intent of not carrying it out, so he said that he considered it quite proper that an account of the proposed expedition should be laid before the captains, but it must be with the full understanding that, even if they thought it unadvisable, yet, for all that, the attack on Calicut should be made; for he had been informed that some persons were going about saying that it was against their duty to the King to undertake the business. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that, in matters of such importance, wherein many inconveniences might arise, it did not appear right to proceed to predetermination before careful consideration, but rather to discuss the matter, and to settle it to the satisfaction of all those who were to be employed in its performance; but, as for himself, he was so thoroughly

convinced about it that no one could persuade him to the contrary.

And while they were thus discussing, the King of Cochim arrived, bringing with him the Brahmins whom he had sent as spies to Calicut; and these men stated that the King had gone into the interior country to a war which was raging there, but in the city itself there were few *Naires*, and on the *Cerame*, or jetty, they had made some wooden stages on which were placed six large bombards, and along the beach many holes had been dug, in order that the men as they landed should fall into them, and that on the side of the houses of the *Macuas*[1] there was not a single breastwork. And, owing to the delay caused by the arrival of the King, there was no time to relate the plan to the captains; so, after receiving all this information, Afonso Dalboquerque summoned them all to meet again on the following morning; and, when they had all assembled together, the Marshal told them that the King D. Manuel, their lord, had commanded him, in the instructions given to him, to destroy Calicut, and to embark in the undertaking, with the counsel and approbation of the Captain-General of India, who was there present. And, he added, according to news that had reached them, they understood that very few soldiers were left in Calicut, and all the people were paralysed with fear at the news which had reached them of his expedition against them. And since the Çamorim had gone into

[1] *Macuas;* Bluteau says:—"He o nome de certa gente da India, nas prayas do Reyno de Travancor, desde a fortaleza de Coulão, atè o Cabo de Comorim. Toda ella he Christaã, convertida pellos Missionarios da Companhia, desde o tempo de S. Francisco Xavier; aos quaes tem os Reys Gentios dado todo o poder sobre as seus Christãos, de sorte que elles sentenceão suas demandas, & julgão suas causas sem o Rey se entremeter nem no crime, nem no civil. Por todas aquellas prayas se vem Igrejas do verdadeiro Deos, & pela terra dentro ficão outras. (Viagem de Godinho, 171.)" Bluteau translates the word *Macuaria*, which occurs in Barros, as "a habitation of fishermen". Cf. *Matsya*, Arab., "fish".

the interior country, as was reported, he did not think that there were any serious obstacles in the way of attacking Calicut, and so he proceeded with his remarks, all directed towards the point in view.

When the Marshal had made an end of opening the matter in hand, various opinions were delivered in the Council; for Pedrafonso Daguiar, Lionel Coutinho, and Ruy Freire, and some others with them, considered that it was not advantageous to attack Calicut without its first of all being well spied, and without having better information of the state of affairs there than that which the Brahmins rendered. The Marshal was annoyed at this; and said to them that what they said seemed to be excuses of men who had not made up their minds, for the business they had in hand was one which admitted of no temporising,[1] if they really intended to carry it through. For, if the Çamorim with all his forces once came to the relief of Calicut, there would be no resisting him. And, as the rest of the captains were well content that Calicut should be attacked, Afonso Dalboquerque commanded everyone to be ready with all his people to set out on the last day of the month of December.

And when all the people were embarked, because already some rumours of this expedition had reached the ears of those in Calicut, in order to get more precise information thereof, the governors of the land had sent to beg a peace, dissemblingly, with Afonso Dalboquerque, by the aid of a Moor whose name was Cogebequi, who had always hitherto been on our side. And when he was now ready to embark, he ordered the Moor to go to his ship, for he would give him an answer there. He did this because the Moor could

[1] *Que aquelle negocio, pera se fazer, avia de ser assoprar e comer;* a phrase literally meaning "that that business, in order to perform it, had to be blown upon before it could be eaten, like very hot food which one has to eat up at once".

not then advise the governors on land of the determined attitude of the Portuguese; and when once the Moor was on board he was kept under guard; and after the Calicut business was over, Afonso Dalboquerque let him go to his own home again.

CHAPTER XIV.

How, when the great Afonso Dalboquerque was ready to set out, Vasco da Silveira arrived from Çocotora with a message from Duarte de Lemos, begging him to send ships and men; and what took place thereupon.

At the very moment that the fleet was ready to set out, and the greater part of the men on board, Vasco da Silveira arrived, coming from Çocotora in a vessel, to beg Afonso Dalboquerque, on the part of Duarte de Lemos, who had gone as chief captain on the Coast of Arabia, that he would send him some ships, for those he had were so decayed that he feared he should be unable to carry out his instructions with them only. And, as soon as Vasco da Silveira had arrived, he proceeded to Afonso Dalboquerque, and told him how Duarte de Lemos found himself in great need of ships, for two of his squadron had gone to the bottom with old age, and the others he had left were so completely eaten through that they would not float, and how he desired that some relief might be afforded to him in this respect before the departure of the fleet.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied, that he was now so pressed on all sides, that he had not time to put even his own shirt on; and even if he were willing to send him any help, there were no ships in readiness that he could send him, for all had been put out of order in the expedition made by the Viceroy against the Rumes,[1] and he had never had any op-

[1] "The Turks of Romania . . . pretended to be descendants of the Roman conquerors, and obtained from the Indians the name of Rumes

portunity of ordering their repair; but if it should please God to deliver him in the present enterprise he would then do what was asked of him. The reply of Vasco da Silveira to this was, that already in the year last passed, Duarte de Lemos had sent to the Viceroy begging of him two galleys and three ships that the King D. Manuel had by writing instructed him to deliver to Jorge de Aguiar, his uncle, to go in his company to the Cape of Guardafum and the Coast of Arabia, but he had not sent them to him, giving as an excuse that he was about to follow up the Rumes and could not therefore break up his fleet; and that since the Governors of India were unwilling to carry out the orders of the King, he would draw up a report to this effect and return to Çocotora, where Duarte de Lemos was stationed.

At this, Afonso Dalboquerque began to get into such a passion with Vasco da Silveira that the Marshal, who was witness to it, thought it best to take him away to his own house, for he was a very intimate friend of his father, and told him that he hoped he would not be annoyed, but the fact was he had come just at a time when they could not possibly carry out the one thing as well as the other, and that the needs of India were so great that there was no possible means left in her to carry out everything which the King wished to see done. But he promised him that as soon as the affair of Calicut was over, he would take care to give him some very material assistance. Vasco da Silveira became very much pleased at the words of the Marshal, and got the better of the passion he had been in, and offered himself to go in the Marshal's company in the projected expedition.

Now Bastião de Miranda, Fernão Perez de Andrade, and Simão de Andrade, his brother, were in dread lest Afonso Dalboquerque should treat them badly because they had

or Romans."—Note to Mickle's *Lusiad*, bk. 10. "Rumes Que trazido de Roma o nome tem."—*Cam. Lus.*, x, 63.

been opposed to him in his dissensions with the Viceroy; so when they became aware of the coming of Vasco da Silveira and of the object of his visit, they earnestly desired him to take them with him and get permission for them to accompany him. But when Afonso Dalboquerque heard of this, with his rare greatness of mind, he took no notice of their former conduct, but ordered them before him, and in the presence of some of the captains, he said to them that he was very desirous that they should not think that he owed them any ill-will on account of their having signed the remonstrance that was made to the Viceroy, nor for their having said some things in contempt for his person, because he knew very well that, as time and things were going then, they had been compelled to such a course of action. But they might now feel sure that he had quite forgotten all that had passed on that occasion. And he would beg them to serve the King well, and without any embarrassment tell him anything that they might think advantageous to the service of His Highness, for in the King's name he would always be thankful to them for such advice. And, he said, he would swear to them by the Holy Gospels, on which he placed his hands, that this was so, and that he spoke without any reservation. The captains told him in reply that it was quite true they had signed the remonstrance made to the Viceroy, because João da Nova and Jorge Barreto had deceived them, but as for having said anything against him personally, there was no one who could think of doing such a thing, and from that time henceforth they would serve the King in the manner they were desired to do.

And because Vasco da Silveira died in Calicut with the Marshal (as will be related further on), directly that Afonso Dalboquerque returned to Cochim, after completing the attack upon Calicut, he sent Diogo Correa in the same ship which Vasco da Silveira had come in, laden with provisions

and stores for the fortress of Çocotora. And when Diogo Correa arrived there he recounted to Duarte de Lemos, who had only a few days before returned from Quiloa, the havoc that had taken place at Calicut, and the death of the Marshal, and of Vasco da Silveira his nephew, with many other fidalgos who there came to their end, and that on this account Afonso Dalboquerque could not send him ships nor galleys, for all had been routed, and there was need of time for repairs. But that a very large fleet was being made ready, to come and unite with him in the following summer, and then both should enter the Straits of the Red Sea, in accordance with the orders of the King D. Manuel, provided that the affairs of India would permit. Duarte de Lemos was not well pleased with this reply to his message, and very angry at the death of his nephew Vasco da Silveira; he therefore committed the captaincy of the fortress to Pero Ferreira, as the King had provided, and gave D. Afonso a ship in which to make his way to India, while he himself returned to pass the winter at Melinde.

CHAPTER XV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque and the Marshal set out for Calicut with their fleet: and of the council which they held respecting their disembarkation, and further proceedings.

When all the people of the fleet were gathered together —a fleet of twenty ships of war all told, besides *paráos* which were taken for use in disembarking, carrying two thousand Portuguese—they set out from Cochim on the last day of the month of December; and on the third day of January came to an anchorage in front of the port of Calicut. And, on their arrival, Afonso Dalboquerque with all the captains went on board the Marshal's ship and stayed to discuss the method to be pursued in landing the troops;

and when they had inspected the position and the nature of the sea, it was considered best to land in front of the houses of the *Macuas*,[1] for there the water was smoothest, and all could land with least trouble.

When this agreement had been arrived at, the Marshal declared he suspected, among so many captains and young men whom the fleet contained, there might be some one who imagined he would acquire honour in being the first to set foot on land [before he himself should do so], but he would swear to such an one, were he a captain or any one in his fleet, he would order his head to be struck off, but if such an one should be of the people of India and the Captain-General would not give a similar order, he would never speak to him again; and he said he would desire them earnestly not to disembark on the land before he himself should, but allow the boats to reach all together at the same time. And, because all his captains were not present there, he wrote to each one of them his written instructions with regard to the plan of action that had been determined; that they were not to plunder the city, nor set fire to it without his permission.

And on the following day, which was the fourth of the month of January, all went into the boats, and proceeded together to strike the land. But, because the current was running very strongly, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the men in his boat to urge on their oars in order not to be taken with the current. And in front of him went Vasco da Silveira in one *parão* and Rodrigo Rabelo[2] in another; and in this order they reached the shore, and disembarked without gaining the spot which had been chosen beforehand for the landing. Afonso Dalboquerque, who was lying to on his oars within sight of shore, on the look out for the Marshal's disembarkation (—the current of the tide had

[1] See page 58, note.
[2] See page 56, note.

carried the Marshal further down where the sea broke very roughly—) as soon as he saw the men on land, and that they were beginning to march in a straggling line, he himself landed and ran along the shore to restrain them from starting off until the arrival of the Marshal, who had indeed by this time already landed. And whereas the men were in high spirits and eager to attack the *Cerame*,[1] or jetty, where the Moors had their stockades fortified with artillery, he could not keep them in check; but, when he beheld them marching along in such a disordered manner, without a captain, he went on behind them at a good pace, and with some, whom he took with him, arrived in the van of the men, who were already engaged in a combat with the Moors with lances; and they altogether pressed upon them so that they carried the stockades by force and put many Moors to death, while others fled to the city, and they also captured six large bombards which had been placed there.

Only two of our men were killed, and at this juncture came the Marshal with his men up along the shore, very tired, for they had landed far off, and could not bear the weight of their arms, by reason of the great heat. And as they thus arrived, a man-at-arms went up to him and told him to go on leisurely, for the *Cerame* was already captured. This news very much enraged the Marshal, and he allowed many words to fall from his lips, which I must omit. Afonso Dalboquerque quitted the *Cerame*, and proceeded along the beach in search of the Marshal, and he, when he caught sight of him, began to shout, and cried out that he had quite expected they would not keep all together in good and close order, and that the weakest always went in front. Afonso Dalboquerque answered him not a word of reproach, but commenced to explain the reason of his actions, saying how he had waited for him for hours without disembarking, in order to carry out the promises he had made, until at

[1] See vol. i, page 115, note.

last the men he had with him began to straggle, and Vasco da Silveira, his servant, had been the first to land; but he, Afonso, when he beheld the men marching without a captain, in order that they should not rush on their destruction, himself had disembarked to take the command of them, and the honour they had gained was all his own, for every one in the affair marched under his flag.

Without saying a word, the Marshal went on as he was, being in a great rage, and on reaching the *Cerame*, wished to march on at once straight upon the city. Then Afonso Dalboquerque told him that it would be best to rest the men there where they were for awhile, and after they had taken some little rest, that then they should proceed on the the march towards the city, burn the ships, and carry out whatever other plans should seem best to him. But the Marshal's mind was filled with distrust, and he replied to Afonso Dalboquerque in a very passionate manner:—"I know very well what this is that you want, that I am not to stir from here; but I mean to go on to the houses of the Çamorim, and destroy Calicut, before I take anything to eat, and let him who will go with me, go; and let him who will not, stay behind". And being seized with an unfortunate temerity of mind, he called out to Gaspar da India, and told him to lead the way, and take him to the king's palace.[1]

When Afonso Dalboquerque saw that the Marshal was of that determination, he told him that his reason for saying so was that it was excessively hot, the men were very tired and in want of food, the palace was a long way off, and he did not know how they would be able to reach so far; yet, if, in spite of all these reasons, he would go, he himself would not be one of the last of the party.

[1] *E o levasse aos paços do Rey;* in some places *paços* is used as equivalent to *passos*, roads or passes; but here, and often elsewhere, the word *paço*, in its plural form *paços*, is taken to signify a palace.

The Marshal answered nothing, but began to march on, with his flag unfurled before him; and Afonso Dalboquerque, although he was much opposed to this obstinate intention of the Marshal, followed him according to the promise he had made at first setting out. And as this was where the palisades begin, he gave word to D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, and to Rodrigo Rabelo, to take three hundred men and go and set fire to the ships, and to return to the same spot when they were burnt and remain drawn up in battle array with the men ready to assist wherever they should see any disorder.

CHAPTER XVI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque and the Marshal entered the City of Calicut, and proceeded to the Çamorim's houses, and our men were routed, and the Marshal killed, and further proceedings.

As soon as the Marshal, who was in the vanguard, had begun to force his way into the city, marching on towards the palace of the Çamorim, there came against him twenty or thirty *Naires*, armed with swords and shields, shouting aloud in their accustomed manner. When he caught sight of them coming against him he began to chuckle, and said to Gaspar Pereira who was close beside him :—"Is this your Calicut, that you terrify us all with in Portugal?" Gaspar Pereira replied that he would think differently before long; for he would wager that, if they could that day penetrate to the houses of the Çamorim, these naked little blacks would give them trouble enough. The Marshal replied :—"This is not the kind of people who will give me any trouble;" and, arriving at a mosque which stood at the entrance of the city, he commanded that it should be set on fire; but when he came close up to it he had already become so tired that it

was necessary to help him along by two men taking him under the arms.

When our men found that they met with none to resist their entry into the city, they turned their attention to pillaging. But the Marshal, with those who remained with him, arrived at the palace, and immediately attacked a body of two hundred *Naires* who kept guard there, and pressed on them with their lances with such force that they routed them and killed eighty of them, and the governor of the city, and two *Caimais* of the Çamorim who were stationed there, while the rest took to flight. And following up this victory, the Marshal went into the palace through the gates, and reached as far as a spacious courtyard, which contained the houses ; but he was so tired that as soon as he entered he sat down on a large block of stone,[1] and there remained for a long space of time without being able to stir. Then the people who had got in with him began to break open some doors which were fastened, and scattered themselves about, robbing whatever they found. But this courtyard, in which the Marshal was, had two gates facing upon two streets of the city; many *Naires*, therefore, began to arrive through them, coming to the succour and relief of those who were on guard at the palace, and these wounded many of our men with arrows.

Tired as he was, the Marshal collected the few that were with him, advanced to attack them, and fell upon them so severely that he made them retire. Afonso Dalboquerque, who was in the rearguard, as soon as he had arrived at the gate of the palace through which the Marshal had entered, rested quietly with his men in close order upon a broad terrace which was close to the palace. When the *Naires* perceived our men thus drawn up, they advanced to fight them, and with arrows wounded them so severely that

[1] *Poial*, or *poyal*, a small platform with steps, for mounting on horseback. Cf. *podium*.

Afonso Dalboquerque, in order to make them keep off from him, thought it advisable to tell Pedrafonso Daguiar to give orders to fire upon them with the small field gun[1] which he had brought up.

The *Naires* no sooner found themselves discomfited by the execution of the gun, than they withdrew outside, and began to set up loud shouts, which is their custom when they wish to collect a crowd. When Afonso Dalboquerque heard the shouting in the city, he sent word twice to the Marshal to retire. But he had not yet got over his fit of anger, so he paid no attention to the message, and allowed himself to get quite rested from his fatigue. Nevertheless, when Afonso Dalboquerque saw that the *Naires* were increasing in number, and that the Marshal was unwilling to withdraw, he left Gonçalo Queimado, who carried his flag, with his men, and went inside; and, being by this time worked up into a passion, told him to retire at once, for there was no longer any time for waiting, because the *Naires* were numerous and increasing in numbers every moment, and had already wounded some of his men, that it was a very long way to the ships, and that if they delayed a single hour longer all would be lost.

Then the Marshal immediately set to work to rally his men, who were scattered about, and went out on to the terrace; and when all had united, Afonso Dalboquerque said to him:—"Sir, how do you wish us to act? for these men require some one to lead the way for them and restrain them from straggling,—because the *Naires* are many, and the communication with the beach is broken, and I fear we shall have a bad account to give of ourselves to-day if we do not dispose ourselves properly." To this the Marshal replied, that since he wished it to be so, he, Afonso, should take the vanguard, while he himself would remain behind in

[1] *Berço;* peça curta de artilharia de fabrica antiga: hoje não se usa. —*Bluteau.*

the rear with his men. Then Afonso Dalboquerque began to march with his flag, taking Gaspar da India, who went on in front leading the way. And because all the way was palisaded on this side and on that, the natives began to crowd upon us, and from over the tops of the stockade handled our men very badly with arrows, stones, and hand-darts. Yet, although they were thus harassed, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the men not to stay to attack them, but to take the most direct way back to the beach.

Before commencing his retreat, the Marshal, who was bringing up the rear, gave orders to set the palace on fire. The *Naires*, as soon as they perceived the flames, rushed up to extinguish them, and found the Marshal who was collecting his men as he went along, and began to attack the party. But as the *Naires* were freshly arrived and our men very much exhausted, after fighting for a considerable time, the *Naires* put them to flight and killed the Marshal, and his lieutenant, and Manuel Peçanha, Vasco da Silveira, Lionel Coutinho, and Filippe Rodriguez, in all ten or twelve of our principal men.

As soon as the news reached Afonso Dalboquerque that the Marshal was fighting, he wheeled round, but those who accompanied him were only very few, withstanding five or six hundred men; and in this manœuvre of turning round the natives wounded many of his men, and to him they gave a lance-thrust with a short lance, from the top of the palisade, in the left shoulder, and another wound in the shoulder-blade which made him fall down. But Diogo Fernandez de Béja, who was walking close beside him, with great difficulty saved him from being killed, and escorted him down to the ships borne on the backs of two men. In this manœuvre, too, the Moors killed Gonçalo Queimado, who carried Afonso Dalboquerque's flag; he met his end like a very brave cavalier, close beside his captain.

Immediately that D. Antonio de Noronha and Rodrigo

Rabelo perceived the discomfiture of our men, they brought up a body of soldiers to the entrance of the palisade to stay them in their flight, for there was no necessity for flying; and, had it not been for this fresh assistance, the rout would have been more disastrous. The *Naires* who were following hard upon our men dared not advance any further when they arrived at the place where D. Antonio and Rodrigo Rabelo were stationed, but withdrew. Our men were so thoroughly beside themselves, that on reaching the beach they threw away their arms and got into the water intending to take refuge in the boats. But Afonso Dalboquerque, who was suffering severely from the pain of his wounds and dared not venture to go up on board his own ship, commanded them to carry him to Antonio Pacheco's *caravela*, which was nearest to him, and there his wounds were dressed, and there he remained that night. And on the following morning he returned to his ship, and gave orders for all the fleet to set sail direct for Cochim, leaving behind him Jorge Botelho and Simão Afonso in their *caravelas* to lie to over against the port of Calicut, with orders not to allow any ship to sail away from that coast with spices.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the behaviour of the Çamorim, when he learned that the Portuguese had entered the City of Calicut: and how the great Afonso Dalboquerque despatched Fr. Luis to Narsinga, to relate to the King what had taken place in Calicut, and further proceedings.

By the time that the great Afonso Dalboquerque and the Marshal had arrived with their fleet opposite Calicut, the Çamorim had been gone for some days already into the interior country close to the mountain-range, to war with a great lord, who was a vassal of the King of Cochim. But when news was brought to him that the Portuguese had

forced their way into the city, he broke up his camp, and set off in the greatest haste by night without being perceived by the enemy. The Lord of the hill country, when morning broke, and he saw that the Çamorim's camp was broken up, and the Çamorim himself had gone away, hastened rapidly after him, burning and destroying everything in the land as he went.

It was not, however, until four days after the departure of Afonso Dalboquerque that the Çamorim reached Calicut; who, when he beheld the destruction of the city, and his mosque and palaces all burnt, and his *Catual*, the governor of the city, and two *Caimais* killed, as well as over three thousand of the native and Malabar soldiery dead, became very dejected; and, showing signs of the deep feeling which had seized him, he was unwilling to enter his palace, but ordered the principal Moors of the city to be summoned before him, and blamed them greatly for the excessive weakness they had exhibited in their defence of the city, and swore he would ruin them and cast them out of his kingdom. That which made him feel this destruction more deeply was the knowledge that there had not been killed more than eighty Portuguese.

Even these I believe would not have been killed if our men had not fled in so disorderly a way, without any body of *Naires* (who compose the principal body of soldiers that the King has) attacking them and throwing them into such a rout as to leave two chief captains and ten or twelve fidalgos who there met their death with them to be cut to pieces, and without turning to look behind them to see what imaginary danger it was from which they were fleeing. For had there been twenty men who had cared to rally themselves together, the Marshal would not have been killed, nor Afonso Dalboquerque wounded, for all the rest that were killed in that affair were men without any sense of shame, and careless of the general orders and proclamations

that had been issued, and only going up and down pillaging in the houses. And because the *Naires* also busied themselves with robbing, if, in the house any of them entered, any Portuguese were found, the greater number overpowered the less, and in this manner some were killed, while the fire cut off others who placed themselves in positions that had not been preconcerted.

Afonso Dalboquerque was so deeply concerned at the death of the Marshal and the fidalgos who had been slain with him, that he determined to exact vengeance for their loss, so he wrote to the King of Narsinga (for his kingdom touches that of Calicut, and the two Kings were not very friendly), that if he would come with his army by land, he Afonso, would come by sea, and thus they would destroy the Çamorim; and to further the chance of success, he would endeavour to come to an understanding with some lords of the hill country to assist him. With this end in view, he dispatched Fr. Luis of the order of St. Francis with instructions as to what he was to say to the King (as is here given below in full); and the friar set out from Cochim in a vessel and reached Baticalá[1], and from that place made his way on land straight to Narsinga. And Afonso Dalboquerque also despatched Diogo Correa with a message to Duarte de Lemos, as I have already related.

Two days after they had set out, two vessels of the fleet commanded by Diogo Lopez de Sequeira arrived, and with them came Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, who related to him all that had taken place in Malaca, and how the Governors of the city had planned treachery against Diogo Lopez de Sequeira by order of their king, intending to seize him, and all who accompanied him on shore, at a banquet which he intended to give him, and afterwards to take the fleet; but this plan had not succeeded, for Diogo Lopez

[1] Baticalá. See page 53, note; and page 77; also Chapter xlviii.

de Sequeira had been warned by a *Jaoa*,[1] the lover of one of our mariners, who came by night swimming to his ship; and that the King, when he saw that the treason was discovered, had laid hands upon Ruy de Araujo the factor, and twenty other men who were with him on land attending to the collection of the cargo of the ships; and how he had ordered two of the vessels which composed the fleet to be burnt because he had not hands sufficient for their navigation, and sailed away; and how, when Diogo Lopez de Sequeira had arrived at Caecoulão, where he first heard that Afonso Dalboquerque was Captain-General of India, he had despatched him, Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, in these two vessels, to make their way to Cochim, for they were in a very leaky condition, and from that port, he, Diogo, had made his way to Portugal to the seaward of the Island of S. Lourenço.[2]

THE INSTRUCTIONS WHICH FR. LUIS CARRIED.

"First of all you will say to the king of Narsinga, that I announce to him that I am now newly arrived as Captain-General of these parts of India by command of the King of Portugal; and that trusting in the confidence which his ancestors possessed in him, I command you to visit him, and to offer to him the fleets and army of the King my Lord; for I know for certain that he, the King of Portugal, will be much gratified at my so doing, confiding in his friendship, his messages, and kindly offerings, which he has always received from the Kings his ancestors, and which were given to him in Portugal.

"You will tell him of the greatness and power of the King my Lord, and of the great fleets which he sends every year to India, and how the Indian seas are not navi-

[1] *Jaoa*; a woman of the Island of Jaoa, Jauha, or Java.

[2] Madagascar. See vol. i, page 25.

gated now without a safe conduct from him; and how the ships and merchandise of those who do not carry his safe conduct are captured; and likewise you will tell him how in my instructions the King of Portugal commands me to render honour and willing service to all the Gentile kings of his land and of the whole of Malabar, and that they are to be well treated by me, neither am I to take their ships nor their merchandise; but I am to destroy the Moors, with whom I wage incessant war, as I know he also does; wherefore I am prepared and ready to help him with the fleets and army of the King, my Lord, whensoever and as often as he shall desire me to do so; and I likewise for my part expect that he will help us with his army, towns, harbours, and munitions, and with everything which I may require from his kingdom; and that the ships which navigate to his ports may pass safely throughout all the Indian sea, and receive honour and good treatment at the hands of the fleets and fortresses of the King of Portugal.

"You will give him an account of the destruction of Calicut, and how I have been informed that he is its capital enemy, and desires to overthrow it; and therefore I send to inform him that its palaces and the city itself have been all burned and the inhabitants put to the sword, and all its artillery captured, and that the Çamorim did not venture to succour the city, but kept himself aloof in the hill country which is over against Calicut and on the borders of his kingdom, until he knew that we had withdrawn from the place.

"You will tell him that my determination is to take the Çamorim captive and send him to Portugal to the King my Lord, and that this can well be done if he, the King of Narsinga, will only come with his camp over against the hills of Calicut, whither the Çamorim withdraws when any one makes war upon him on the sea coast; and while he is marching his army through the interior country, I will

come with a very large fleet along the shore, destroying all the ports and towns in such a manner that the Çamorim shall not be able to assist one side or the other with his army, and that we shall take him without his being able to escape. And so we shall drive out of Calicut the Moors, who are the people that furnish him with all the revenue that he requires for the expenses of the war, and depriving him of the people of the land, his ports will be left without trade, destroyed and undone; and after this is over, I shall give my attention forthwith to the affairs of Goa, wherein I can help him in the war against the King of Decan,[1] and from him will I take the trade in horses that comes to his kingdom, whereby he is enabled to carry on the war with him (the King of Narsinga).

"You will tell him, also, how Ormuz now belongs to the King my Lord; and if he wishes to obtain the King of Portugal's friendship and to send his ambassadors to Portugal to visit him with presents whereby he may show signs of true friendship, the King of Portugal on his part will send him many things that are in that kingdom. And that the horses of Ormuz shall not be consigned except to Baticalá, or to any other port he pleases to point out where he can have them, and shall not go to the King of Decan, who is a Moor and his enemy. And in order that our friendship be more firmly established, you will tell him that when he comes with his camp to these parts, I will proceed to visit him in person, and together we will arrange many matters that will benefit his service. And I again remind you that you are to labour as much as you possibly can to cause the King of Narsinga to send his ambassadors to Portugal, that they may visit the King, carrying presents of jewels and other things produced in that land.

"You will, moreover, speak to him to the effect that, at

[1] *Decan*, Dakhan, or Deccan, the name given to the great inland country in the South of India.

case it shall be to the advantage of the King my Lord that we should make a settlement and factory in any place within his ports between Baticalá and Mangalor,[1] he shall command that the King's men and fleets be received in those ports and be granted a space for erecting a strong house wherein his merchandise and people may be secured from any tumult of the natives which may arise, seeing that the distance is so great that his justices might not be able to arrive to succour them in time to retrieve their position if it were assailed. And if the King of Narsinga be willing to do this he shall hold securely all the trade in horses and every other kind of merchandise of Portugal which he may need in his land."

Of the Province of Malabar, and of some Customs which the People of Malabar practice.

The Province of Malabar commences at the port of Maceirão, close to Mangalor, and reaches as far as the Cape of Comorim[2] in the interior country, bounded by the great Kingdom of Narsinga; and all along this land there runs a very lofty mountain range which divides the Province of Malabar from the Kingdom of Narsinga. The greatest breadth of this land from the sea coast up to the range is about fifteen leagues. These ranges of mountains are so lofty that the natives of Narsinga say that in their country the east winds never blow, because they are prevented from passing over from the other side by reason of the great height. The length of the coastline of this Province would be about a hundred and thirty leagues. In it there are many kings, and all the people are heathens.

The sons of the kings do not inherit, but their nephews,

[1] Mangalor, or Mangalur, on the West Coast of India, 12 deg. 52 min. N., 74 deg. 50 min. E. See the plan and description of the fortress in Barretto de Resende's work, MS. Sloane, 197, fo. 188.

[2] The most southern point of the Indian Continent.

sons of their sisters, not the sons of their brothers, for they hold it to be a very doubtful matter if their sons are their own. Wherefore, if they have a sister, they give her to a Brahmin, who keeps her as his mistress, and the sons of this sister inherit the kingdom. And if they can get Brahmin *Patamares*,[1] who come from the Kingdom of Cambaya (and are held in these parts as a more noble race than any other), to them they give their sisters to take them from their earliest girlhood,[2] and with this charge they give the Brahmins large sums of money that they may be willing to take this trouble, which they perform very rigorously, and the sons of these sisters inherit the kingdom.

These Brahmins are a set of religious men (just as our priests among us here), who take care of their pagodas. They have among themselves a scientific language, which is like the Latin among us, that no one understands unless he is instructed in it. They are married to one wife only; they do not eat flesh nor fish, nor anything which may suffer death; their food is rice, milk, butter, and fruits, and their drink, water. And, in order that this kind of substance may never fail for the Brahmins, who were numerous, the ancient people of this land forbade that cows or bulls should be killed, under penalty of death; and this law was so strictly observed that, not only do they not kill them, but they worship them, and they are even held as objects of sanctity. They have knowledge of the Trinity and of Our Lady, whereby it appears that anciently they were Christians.

The *Naires* of this land are the military men and esteemed cavaliers, and the most honourable people of all the country; and it is said that in this province there would be about two hundred thousand of these men. They are very loyal to

[1] *Patamares*, among the Canarese, messengers, or runners.

[2] *Que as levem de virgindade.*

their king, and worship him; and it has never been found that a *Naire* has been guilty of treason.

They have physicians, whose method of cure is in this wise. To those who are suffering from fevers, they give meat and fish to eat, and purge them with the seed of the *figueira*[1] *de Inferno*, "the fig tree of hell", or give the leaves pounded to them in water to drink. If one suffers from diarrhœa, they give him to drink the fresh water of *cocos*,[2] and it is stopped immediately. If any are sick, they wash their heads for them with cold water, and the vomiting ceases. If wounded, they give warm oil three times a day, and cure them in this manner. In prolonged illnesses, the remedy which they give to the sufferers is to take musicians and make pilgrimages to their pagodas.

In the Province of Malabar, there are between Chetua[3] and Coulão many Christians of the time of St. Thomas, and there are many churches. Many other customs have they, concerning which I do not write, to avoid digression; but I leave the account of them to those who will write the history of India.

CHAPTER XVIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque prepared his fleet with the intention of entering the Straits of the Red Sea: and of the council he held upon an expedition to Goa.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque was no sooner well of his wounds, although he continued to feel somewhat of the injury done to his arm, and could not lift it well up to his

[1] The *Ricinus communis*, sometimes *R. Palma Christi*, the castor-oil plant.

[2] The *Cocos nucifera*, or common coco-nut.

[3] *Chaitwa*, on the Western Coast of India, 10 deg. 32 min. N., 76 deg. 3 min. E.

head, than he set to work at once to order the refitting of all the ships, vessels, and galleys, which the Viceroy had left in a dismantled state at the time of his departure for Portugal. And when he had his fleet already fitted out with things necessary for the time that he should start, he summoned the captains and said to them :—" Sirs, now that the affairs of Malabar are in a quiet state and settled, as you perceive them to be, I have determined to go to Çocotorá and unite with Duarte de Lemos, in accordance with the orders I have received from the King our Lord, and thereafter to make our way to the Straits of the Red Sea in search of the fleet of the Grand Sultan; and, in case of not finding it in the Sea, to go on to Suez and burn it for him; for the best way is to go and seek them there and not let them get out and set foot in India, where for a certainty they would command the favour and assistance of the Moors against us. This has always been my policy, provided that we are to govern; and there are many reasons which I will give in support of my views, when I have more leisure to do so; and after this, we will go and complete the fortress of Ormuz, which I left just commenced. And I beg of you that, after well considering the one thing and the other, to advise me what I ought to do." And, after they had heard many propositions that were made concerning this matter, it was decided that he ought to make his way to the Straits of the Red Sea; and, with regard to Ormuz, time would show what he would have to do.

On this determination being arrived at, Afonso Dalboquerque left the fortresses of Cochim provided with captains, and men, artillery, gunpowder, and stores, and everything else that they required, and a fleet of vessels along the coast to rely upon in case anything should happen, and set out from Cochim on the tenth day of February in the year one thousand five hundred and ten with a fleet of twenty-three sail. And these were the captains :—Dom Antonio de

Noronha his nephew, Garcia de Sousa who had come from Malaca, Luis Coutinho, Jorge Fogaça, Jeronymo Teixeira, João Nunez, Diogo Fernandez de Béja, Jorge da Silveira, Simão Martinz, Fernão Perez Dandrade, Simão Dandrade his brother, Aires da Silva, Francisco Pantoja, Duarte de Melo, D. Jeronymo de Lima, Francisco Pereira Continho, Francisco de Sousa Mancias, Manuel de Lacerda, Bernaldim Freire, Jorge da Cunha, Antonio da Costa, and Francisco Corvinel, a Florentine by birth.[1] And sailing along the coast with all this fleet he made his way direct to Anjadiva,[2] from which point he had determined to steer across to the Cape of Guardafum.

And when he had progressed as far on his voyage as the port of Mergeu,[3] Timoja arrived in a *fusta* to parley with the ship of Afonso Dalboquerque. This man was a Hindoo by birth, very obedient to the interests of the King of Portugal; and being a man of low origin had as a corsair raised himself to a position of great honour. Timoja enquired of Afonso Dalboquerque whither he was bound with so powerful a fleet as this; and he replied that his intention was to proceed to the Straits in search after the fleet of the Grand Sultan, and to fight with it when found; and in case of not finding the enemies at sea, should he obtain correct information of their having by that time set out, then to go to Suez and burn all the ships and galleys for them that they had there. Timoja informed him that he was very much concerned at this idea, when he had the Rumes so near to him, of going to seek for them at Suez, and begged to acquaint him with the news that a captain of the Grand Sultan, with some Rumes who had escaped from the rout

[1] Compare these names with those in the note on page 56.

[2] *Anjadiva*, between Cape Ramas and Honawar, not marked in Keith Johnston's map, but its position is shewn in Pedro Berthelot's map in Barreto de Resende's work.—MS. Sloane, 197, f. 164.

[3] *Mergeu* is apparently *Mirjan*, 14 deg. 32 min. N., and 74 deg. 27 min. E.—The *Rio de Merzeu*, of Berthelot, as above.

inflicted upon them by D. Francisco Dalmeida, had arrived at Goa, and that the Çabaio[1] had made important overtures to this captain to the end that he should settle there, and among them there were carpenters and caulkers who had built ships and galleys after the model of those of Portugal; and that this same captain had written to the Grand Sultan to send him soldiers, because he hoped to establish himself strongly at Goa, inasmuch as it was a country wherein were plenty of supplies, and timber, and a good harbour, and with his help from that base of operations they would cast the Portuguese out of India, and then the spices would again go to Meca and Cairo as they used to go in ancient days.

In addition to this, Timoja informed Afonso Dalboquerque that the Çabaio, Lord of Goa, was dead, and Goa, being without him, was dead also, and the place was not very strong, and inside the city there were not men sufficient for resisting so great a fleet as this; and that the Hidalcão,[2] son of the Çabaio, was very young, and on account of the death of his father great divisions had arisen in the kingdom of Decan between the lords, and the opportunity now presented itself for laying hands upon the city, if he was inclined to attack it; and in the entrance of the bar there were about three fathoms and a half depth at full tide, whereby all that fleet could enter without danger. Afonso Dalboquerque thanked him excessively for this advice of his; but insomuch as in so great an undertaking as this which had been proposed he could not take any steps without giving an account of it to the captains and men of this fleet, because it had been decided to enter the Straits, he would lay the relation of this matter before them, and

[1] *Cabaio.* This word may possibly be connected with *sipahi*, Arabic, a soldier.

[2] *Hidalcão*; perhaps a proper name rather than a titular designation. The definite article is, however, always prefixed.

inform him, Timoja, of the conclusions at which they arrived.

As soon as Timoja had been dismissed with this reply, Afonso Dalboquerque convened a meeting of all the captains, *fidalgos*, and pilots of the fleet, and recounted to them all that had passed in his interview with Timoja. And after a prolonged debate, it was universally agreed that if Goa were really in the state described by this information, then the voyage to the Straits ought to be abandoned, and all should strive their utmost to capture the city and drive the Rumes out of it. After every one had delivered his opinion, Afonso Dalboquerque said to them that for all that the words of Timoja appeared to carry reason with them, still, as it was a doubtful matter after all, he would not yet swerve from the determination wherewith he had set out from Cochim, nor would he abandon his intention of making the voyage to the Straits, unless it were to strengthen the kingdom of Ormuz, which was quite as important as Goa, and very profitable to the service of the King our Lord. And when once they should reach Ormuz and refit her with supplies, she was a prize taken without any more fighting, and of this there could be no denial. But although he had his eyes upon Ormuz on account of the great trouble which she had cost him (for the captains who had deserted him had forced him to abandon the attack), nevertheless, if Timoja had spoken truly, he could not deny that if they omitted now to capture Goa, there would follow hereafter much trouble upon the affairs of India; and in addition to this it was very important to bear in mind that if the Rumes established themselves in Goa and fortified it, then the Çamorim, who was allied with the city, would never, in his opinion, withdraw from it; but would give much trouble to the King of Portugal if at any future time he should desire to take it. Nevertheless, he continued, in this that he said he was not finally deter-

mined on any plan of action—he was only representing to them all the reasons that could be adduced for and against the proposal. For in the whole of the fleet they had not a pilot who was better acquainted with Goa, its harbour, or its bar, than that Timoja stated that it had a good harbour and about three and a half fathoms of water in the bar at high water. But Timoja, he said, had promised him that he would return immediately with some more sure proofs of what he had told him, and when he had this further information before him, then he would make up his mind and lay his plans before them. And all agreed to this course of proceeding.

CHAPTER XIX.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set sail from the harbour of Mergeu, and took up his station in front of the Castle of Cintácora; and what passed with Timoja, and how sailing thence he went and anchored on the bar of Goa.

At the conclusion of all these debates, on a Monday, the twenty-fifth day of the month of February, the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered all the fleet to set sail, and certain ships which were going in company with him to Chaul[1] to follow him, as he was of opinion that if he required these ships' boats for disembarking troops he could benefit by their assistance, and make use of everything else they contained. And they all made their way together and proceeded to anchor over against the Castle of Cintácora; and just as they were casting anchors Timoja arrived from Onor with thirteen *fustas* armed with a numerous body of men, and without delay had an interview with Afonso Dalboquerque, who was very much pleased at his coming, and enquired of him, through Gaspar Rodriguez, the interpreter, what trustworthy information he had of Goa.

[1] See vol. i, p. 222.

Timoja replied, that by means of messages and letters that he had received from certain influential Hindoos of the city he had been notified of the death of the Çabaio; and that in Goa there was a captain, named Melique Çufergugi,[1] who had in his pay a thousand men under arms, that were much enraged with him because he had not paid them, so that they were all dying of hunger; and that the river of Goa was of the same depth that he had formerly stated; and that this captain, after the death of the Çabaio, obeyed no one, and the people of the land were in great dissension one with another. Afonso Dalboquerque enquired of him the reason that had moved him to come and advise him to take Goa. Timoja answered, that the principal head-men[2] of the natives that were established in the land had written to tell him that the death of the Çabaio was certain, and that all were very well pleased at hearing of it on account of the numerous robberies and tyrannies which he had practised upon them, and that during the year last passed he had murdered and robbed more than two hundred merchants, and that on this account the whole land had risen up in mutiny and in quarrels one against another. "And," he continued, "if I wanted to possess myself of Goa, I have only to go there with my men and they would yield themselves up to me of their own accord."

Afonso Dalboquerque convened a general meeting of all at his ship, and gave them an account of everything that Timoja had told him, and begged them seriously to make up their minds, for they were wasting time without arriving at any action. And he ordered Timoja to speak first, who said that concerning the affairs of Goa he had nothing to say, for he had already stated all that had taken place; but that, as for himself, he was prepared with his *fustas* to accompany him by sea, and would send many of his men

[1] This is the Portugnese transliteration of a native name which I cannot identify.

[2] *Cabeceiras*, caboceers.

by land, and he would undertake to promise that, [illegible] the anchoring of the fleet in the harbour of Goa, the gov[illegible]ors of the city would immediately order the keys of the f[illegible]ess to be delivered up to him without any resistance.

When Timoja had made an end of stating his opinio[illegible] captains debated about the business; and, after settli[illegible] tain differences they had respecting the entering of [illegible] it was agreed that they should fall upon the city [illegible] upon Afonso Dalboquerque told Timoja to send hi[illegible] land to make their way, destroying the places whic[illegible] built along the sea front. And because this man's desires were that Goa should be captured for the sake of the profit that he hoped to make out of it, he sent by land two thousand men, led by one of his cousins and by a Moor who had been a captain of the Çabaio, whose name was Meliqu[illegible] Çufecondal[1]—who had fled from Goa out of fear of the Çabaio, and had secreted himself in his house. As soon our fleet had dropped anchor Timoja's men came up by la[illegible] and fell upon the fortress of Cintácora—which is on th[illegible] bank of the river whereby the kingdom of Onor is divide[illegible] from that of Goa,—in which fortress an alcaide was stationed with a body of men. And when they beheld our fleet all took to flight; so that Timoja's men found the fortress deserted when they reached it; and they threw down part of it, and set fire to the buildings, and collected some pieces of artillery[2] which the Turks had placed there. At the sight of this good fortune Afonso Dalboquerque hoisted sail with all his fleet and stood in and anchored inside the bar of Goa, a good distance away from it.

While Timoja was passing along the edge of the land in one of his *fustas* he captured a Moor, who was walking along the beach, barefooted and clad in the garb of a hermit, and he carried him before Afonso Dalboquerque, who

[1] The Portuguese equivalent of an Indian name.

[2] *Bombardas de cepo*, trunk-guns, perhaps mortars.

demanded of him what sort of a man he was and what he was doing there, and what news of Goa he could give. The Moor replied that he was a poor *jogue*[1] who lived there in the woods in a little house serving God, and that the news of Goa was that the Cabaio was dead and his son away in the interior country, and the captain that was at present in command had not more than a hundred Rumes in his company, but there were very many native soldiers, but all of them much opposed to the captain; and there were so many dissensions inside the city, one quarrelling with the other, that many prayed to God that the Franks would come against it and take it; and that there were twelve very large ships fitted out, built after the model of the *Flor de la Mar*, and many *fustas*, and watch-boats,[2] and four ships loaded with merchandise, two to go to Adem and two to Ormuz, and besides these Rumes who were stationed in the fortress, there were above a hundred in *parãos* and *fustas*, leading the life of pirates.

On the receipt of this information Afonso Dalboquerque summoned the captains to his ship, and told them that he had always been doubtful of undertaking this affair of Goa because he desired to comprehend the design and force of the enemy; but seeing that the affair was in the state that everybody declared, he was of opinion that it would be advisable to undertake it. But over and above this information which they had, they ought to order the sounding of the river first of all, for he did not wish to enter upon this business rashly. And all agreed in this, and that he should send Timoja on in front with his watch-boats.

[1] *Jogue*, an Indian word, *jógi*, signifying an ascetic, or gymnosophist; for some account of their hideous practices and austerities of life, see Eluteau, tom. iv, p. 190, col. 2.

[2] See vol. i, p. 113.

CHAPTER XX.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered D. Antonio de Noronha and other captains to sound the river, and how they took the Castle of Pangij, which stands at the entrance of the bar, and further proceedings.

The morning of the day following that on which this council had been held, which was the twenty-eighth of the month of February, in the year '10, the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered D. Antonio de Noronha, with certain pilots, to sound the bar, and Timoja to accompany them with two watch-boats. And they found two fathoms and a half depth at low water, and three at high water. When Dom Antonio had taken the soundings of the bar he returned and related to him what he had found. The captain of the city was fearful lest our men should capture one of the earthworks which were placed inside the bar when he saw them in progress of taking soundings, he therefore gave orders with great diligence to provide them with infantry and cavalry, and large and small pieces of artillery. And, because the principal of these fortifications was the tower of Pangij, which commanded the entrance of the bar, he sent a captain thither and ordered it to be reinforced with everything that was required for its defence.

And, although it had been determined with assent of all to enter with the whole of the fleet within the bar, yet Afonso Dalboquerque could not be persuaded to bring up his large ships into a river of which his pilots had no practical knowledge. And in this frame of mind he summoned a meeting of the captains to his ship in the night, and pointed out to them the anxiety which had troubled him with respect to this, and shewed how prudent an undertaking it would be for some boats first of all to go right over the bar inside to see how matters were going on there, and to sound the depth which the river had, so as not to find

themselves hereafter inside the bar with the large ships in any danger which they would be unable to remedy. Every one considered this advice excellent, so Afonso Dalboquerque commissioned D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, to get himself in readiness to take command of this undertaking as captain, and sent in company with him Jeronymo Teixeira, Simão Martinz, João Nunes, Garcia de Sousa, and Jorge da Silveira in their boats, and Simão Dandrade and Diogo Fernandez de Béja in two galleys whereof they were captains, and Timoja with his *fustas*. And on the following morning early they all set sail together and made directly for the bar, and shaped their course into the river straight to the fortress of Pangij, because it was close up by the entrance of the bar.

No sooner had D. Antonio de Noronha arrived with his fleet of boats and galleys in front of the fortress, than the Moors began to fire at him with the artillery they had with them, but as the guns were trained high, the shots passed overhead and did no injury to our boats. When the fury of the firing was over, D. Antonio thought a good opportunity offered itself for their disembarking, and he passed the word to the captains to order all the men to row right down upon the fortress, and jump on to the shore as soon as the prows struck the beach. And thus while the artillery began to open fire again without doing any harm, they all disembarked with a great and furious rush, and fighting bravely forcibly entered into the fortress through the loopholes of the bombards or by scaling the walls, and put many to death, as well those on foot as those on horseback, and even wounded the captain, who escaped, indeed, because he could not be distinguished from the others, and the rest of the men took to flight towards the city.

The Moors who were stationed in the earthwork on the land side perceived the overthrow of the fortress of Pangij, and every one of them fled away, because they were not

sufficiently strong to resist any attack. Elated with this victory, D. Antonio ordered Timoja to proceed to the attack of the earthwork that stood on the opposite side; but when he arrived there he found it deserted, so he collected the artillery and everything that he found in it. And when D. Antonio had gathered all the spoil which he had gained from the Moors of Pangij, which consisted of a large number of lances, swords, shields, and eighteen pieces of artillery, he ordered the buildings of the fortress to be set on fire and betook himself again to the boats and made his way back to the ships.

On the arrival of D. Antonio with news of this unexpected success, Afonso Dalboquerque received them all with great approbation and delight, praising him very much for this deed of valour; and, being unable to brook any delay, seeing the benefits our Lord conferred on him, he again commanded D. Antonio to enter the river and go and reconnoitre the city with the galleys and boats which he had provided. And because he was afraid of the *jaos* that were in Goa, he ordered that the party this time should be reinforced with a few small vessels. And just as they were ready to set out on the following morning, two of the principal Moors of the city arrived in a *paraó* with a message from the captain and inhabitants of Goa to the Captain-General, saying that all would put themselves under his orders and do everything that he should command, for they would rather become the vassals of the King of Portugal than of the Hidalcão, on account of the frequent tyrannies which the father of the Hidalcão had visited upon them.

Afonso Dalboquerque would not give them an immediate answer. And he ordered D. Antonio, notwithstanding this, to proceed on his expedition up the river to reconnoitre the city, and see how it was placed, and its walls, and its fortress, and especially to endeavour to find some places

whereby the best means of entry could be effected. When D. Antonio had set out, Afonso Dalboquerque kept the Moors with him all that day; and when he thought that D. Antonio had already got on so far as to be opposite the city, he replied to them that they might tell the captain of Goa that he was the Captain-General of India for the King of Portugal, D. Manuel, his Lord, and provided that they on their part were willing to put themselves under obedience to him, and surrender to him the fortress of Goa, as they said they would, and deliver up to him all the Rumes and Turks in the city,—for these were his mortal enemies,—he, on his part, in the name of the King his Lord, would assure them their lives and treat them with every consideration, according to the instructions he had received from his Highness.

When the Moors had gone away carrying back this reply, Afonso Dalboquerque perceiving that the inhabitants of the city had virtually surrendered, like a prudent captain watching the victory which he had in his hands, without waiting any longer for news of D. Antonio, made ready all the boats and small vessels, and *parte* of the ships of Cananor that were left with him, and set out at once behind the Moors with all this fleet, leaving the large ships outside the bar—for it was a matter requiring more leisure to get them over the bar,—and that same day he came up opposite the city, where he found D. Antonio de Noronha already at anchor in front of the fortress. The captain and governors of the city, terrified at this tumult of boats and armed host, sent immediately four principal Moors to beg a safe-conduct in order to treat for some settlement of affairs.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he would be happy to grant their request with the conditions which he had already conveyed to their consideration. The Moors returned forthwith with the answer that they would accept the safe-conduct that he would give them; and as all were willing

to surrender the city into his hands, they begged him to be pleased to grant its extension as well to include certain Rumes and Turks who were there—strangers,—for it did not seem reasonable nor according to the laws of humanity to deliver them up. As Afonso Dalboquerque was unwilling to decide this point of his own responsibility, he called a meeting of the captains and recounted to them what the captain and governors of the city were treating for; and it was universally agreed that unless the Rumes and Turks were delivered up, the armistice should no longer be observed, but on the following morning the combat against the city should begin.

The Moors retired with this message, and a large part of the night was spent without any further negociation; and while Afonso Dalboquerque was considering what further proceedings he should enter into, and wondering what was the cause of the delay, there came to him by night a native —a relation of Timoja,—and informed him that the captain of the city had fled away, and that he had done so in order to avoid surrendering the Rumes and Turks, and had left the fortress stripped of everything, and that the people of the city were engaged in nothing but pillaging everything they could find. Although Afonso Dalboquerque was very desirous of getting these Turks and Rumes into his power, he was, nevertheless, pleased to get the city without any trouble or danger to his men, and ordered Garcia de Sousa and Dom Jeronymo de Lima to go forward in their boats in front of the gates of the fortress, and there station themselves on the watch until the morning, to prevent any Moors from going out or entering in by that gate.

Of the Site and Foundation of the City of Goa.

The kingdom of Goa belonged in ancient days to the Hindoos, and was tributary to the King of Narsinga; but at the time that Afonso Dalboquerque captured it, it

had been freed for about seventy years, and no longer subject to that king. The principal centre of this kingdom was the city of Goa[1], which is situated on an island which all the Hindoos call Tiçuarij, surrounded on every side with lagoons of salt water and islands. And in some of the principal passes of this island they had built towers to prevent the incursions of the Moors of the mainland. And because the pass of Gondali was so shallow that it could be forded at low water, it was ordered that all those who were condemned to die by the hands of justice, and also any Moors who were captured in battle, should be cast into this part in order that the alligators that abound in these lagoons should come thither to seek for their carcasses—and these creatures were so numerous and so accustomed to assemble in this fattening place that the Moors on this account dared not attempt to pass over the ford,—and by means of this artifice, and with the rest of the towers that were built around the island, they lived many years without the Moors being able to get in among them.

The first population that occupied this island of Tiçuarij founded Old Goa, and from the appearance of its buildings it was a great place. The reason that the original founders established themselves there, and not where the city of New Goa now stands (if we may so call it)—granted that the harbour and river are much better,—was on account of the shallowness of the water on the bar, and the impossibility of ships and vessels passing over. But in course of time the water which comes down from the high land of the *Gate*[2]—which in the winter rushes down with great fury to the sea,—little by little enlarged the bar in such a manner that the depth of water increased so as to admit the passage of ships and vessels. When the inhabitants of Old Goa perceived that

[1] 15 deg. 27 min. N., 73 deg. 53 min. E. New Goa, or Panjim, is 15 deg. 26 min. N., 73 deg. 51 min. E.

[2] See page 95. Cf. *Ghaut*, or *Ghāt*.

this river and harbour were better, and that the bar had increased in depth so that ships and vessels could enter thereby without peril, they deserted the habitations of Old Goa, and came and founded the populous places where now stands our fortress, and there they built a very large city. And as they were a maritime race, and more inured to the hardships of the sea than all the other nations, they immediately began to build ships of great burthen, and navigated all the coasts of India. They were valiant men and good archers, and in this respect they performed good service to all their neighbours.

In the time of the Hindoos Goa was ever considered a very important place in those parts, and there were therein many soldiers, both infantry and cavalry, and by their aid the city defended itself for many years against the power of the King of Daquem.[1] The Hindoos had therein many venerable temples, of a very good style of architecture, wherein lived certain men, as religious persons; these they called Brahmans *(Bramenes)*, and there they kept the rites of their false worship. They had a custom that if any Hindoo died, the wife had to burn herself of her own free will; and when she was proceeding to this self-sacrifice it was with great merry-making and blowing of music, saying that she desired to accompany her husband to the other world. But the wife who would not so burn herself was thrust out from among the others, and lived by gaining, by means of her body, support for the maintenance of the pagoda of which she was a votary. However, when Afonso Dalboquerque took the city of Goa, he forbade from that time forward that any more women should be burned; and although to change one's customs is equal to death itself, nevertheless, they were happy to save their lives, and spoke very highly of him because he had ordered that there should be no more burning.

[1] *I.e.*, Deccan.

Through this harbour of Goa was always the principal passage to the kingdom of Narsinga and of Daquem; and for this reason it contained much merchandise, and large caravans of merchants came from the interior country in quest of it, and brought other commodities in exchange. And from this commerce which they had one with another the inhabitants of Goa grew so prosperous that it was said that Goa alone in those days had a revenue of two hundred thousand *pardaos*[1]. Between this kingdom of Goa and that of Daquem, on the side of the interior country, there runs a range of mountains, very lofty and very extensive, which is called the *Gate*,[2] and divides these two kingdoms one from the other. This range of mountains had certain passes by which it was entered, and in these the Hindoos had their towers with garrisons for their defence.

And, although the ascent to this range of mountains is very steep and rocky, yet as soon as the summit is reached the ground is quite flat for all the rest of the way in front, and densely peopled with very large towns, in such a manner that this range hangs over Goa and over the sea like an awning. I do not here give any further account of this land, for it is my intention only to treat of the way in which Dalboquerque gained possession of it from the Moors, and not how they made themselves masters of it. And after that the Moors had for many years gained the kingdom of Daquem from the King of Narsinga and were masters of it, although they always waged war with the Hindoos of Goa until the Çabaio became Lord of Daquem, they could never overcome them; but this prince carrying on the war with them was oftentimes overcome and as many times conqueror—finally, having seized the passes of the hill country by treachery, he came down with a great body of

[1] *Pardao*, an Indian coin equivalent to 370 *reis* Portuguese; *i.e.*, about 1s. 6½d. English. "Cem mil pardaos são noventa mil cruzados de nossa moeda."—Bluteau, *s.v.*

[2] See page 93.

men over against the island of Goa, and remained encamped before the city for so long a time until he got inside. And after the capture of the entire city, the rest of the kingdom fell without any further resistance, and thereupon became the principal city of both kingdoms. And when the old Çabaio perceived that the site of Goa was very good, and well supplied with water, and the island of itself very fertile and pleasant, he determined to take up his residence there in, and leave all the rest of his kingdom, out of liking for Goa; and lost no time in building palaces, very large and of excellent workmanship. And after finding himself settled there in security he became so well pleased with the harbour and the river, and the favourable position which it occupied for building large fleets, that he was constantly asserting to those who were his favourites that since fortune had bestowed Goa upon him, he hoped thereby to gain possession of the kingdom of Çambaya, and destroy the whole of Malabar, for these were always the most formidable opponents he had.

But when Afonso Dalboquerque took Goa, it would be about forty years, more or less, since the Çabaio had taken it from the Hindoos. As soon as the news got abroad that the Çabaio was Lord of the kingdom of Goa, owing to the great reputation which he had acquired in past times, everybody endeavoured all they could to enjoy his friendship, and the Xeque Ismael, and the Grand Sultan of Cairo, and the King of Adem immediately dispatched their ambassadors to his Court, making many overtures to him for his friendship. And because he used to give a greater payment to foreigners than any king of India, there immediately flocked to Goa many Rumes, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, and by the assistance of these people he wrested many places from the king of Narsinga and made himself the great lord of the kingdom of Daquem.

And after the Portuguese had gained a footing in India,

the people of Malabar, who were the principal enemies the Çabaio had, allied themselves with him and made him their captain-general, and offered him great sums of money and soldiers, and every other kind of assistance that he required in his operations against us. And towards the support of this enterprise the Çabaio had prepared a very large fleet of ships, vessels, and galleys in the river of Goa, which was just on the point of completion when the great Afonso Dalboquerque entered the city.

On the coast of the kingdom of Goa there are other harbours, in which, before it was taken by the Portuguese, there were ships and merchants, but there are none now by reason of their fear of our fleets, and also because Afonso Dalboquerque would not allow any trade along the whole of that coast except in Goa.

CHAPTER XXI.

How the Governors of the City of Goa delivered the keys of it to the great Afonso Dalboquerque, and of the spoils he found therein, and further proceedings.

As soon as D. Jeronymo and Garcia de Sousa had set out to watch the fortress (as I have already described), the great Afonso Dalboquerque remained quiet throughout the night waiting for the break of day, and advised the captains what course they should pursue if any resistance should be offered to them when entering the city. And just as the morning began to break he ordered the signal to be made to them, of which he had previously given them notice. When the captains heard the signal, they weighed anchor, and steered with all their people—about one thousand Portuguese and two hundred men of Malabar,—towards the galley where Afonso Dalboquerque was, and from that point commenced their course, and, arriving at the city when it

was clear day, not meeting with any resistance, they entered in at the gate, with a cross carried in front of them; and there was the great Afonso Dalboquerque kneeling on his knees, who, letting fall many tears, gave thanks to our Lord for that loving-kindness which He had shewn him in delivering into his hands[1] so large and so powerful a city without trouble to, or death of any one. This cross was borne aloft by a friar of St. Dominic, behind it was carried the royal flag which was made of white satin with a cross of Christus worked in the centre, and in this order of procession they all went on up to the gate of the castle, where the principal Moors of the city, and the governors thereof, stood in expectation of their arrival. And these men casting themselves at the feet of our party, delivered up to them the keys of the fortress, and begged them earnestly of their kindness that they would respect the assurance of safety that had been given to them.

When Afonso Dalboquerque had entered into the fortress, because he perceived that many men of the city were following up behind him, he commanded Dom Antonio de Noronha to wait behind with fifty men at the gate, and not suffer any Moor to enter. The Hindoos who were inside approached him in their accustomed courteous manner, and told him that they wished to become vassals of the King of Portugal and to place themselves in obedience to him. He therefore received them with great affection and consideration, and ordered proclamation to be made, that under penalty of death for disobedience, no one should touch a single thing belonging either to the Moors or Hindoos who were in Goa, but treat them as vassals of the King of Portugal his lord.

As soon as this was over, he proceeded to inspect the fortress and the palace of the Çabaio, which was all made with joinery work, and had gardens and pools of water within it. And thence he went on to some large arsenals,

[1] See Camões, *Lusiada*, x, 42; quoted in vol. I, Introduction, p. i.

wherein he found many supplies, a great quantity of powder, and many materials for making it, and many weapons for the men, both infantry and cavalry, and a very large quantity of merchandise, and in some stables of large size, one hundred and sixty horses; and in divers parts of the city there were captured forty large field guns[1] and fifty-five howitzers[2] and of other lesser kinds of artillery a great quantity, and many other things which I do not write of, so that I may not tire the reader. To the shore there were moored forty ships, large and small, and sixteen *fustas;* and there was also there a great supply of ropes and cordage, and boltwork, and everything else that was necessary for them.

And there, too, Afonso Dalboquerque found all the women and children of the Turks and Rumes, whom they could not carry with them, by reason of the haste they made in fleeing away with Milique Çufegurgij. For when this man arrived at the pass of Gondali, intending to cross over to the mainland, so great was the thronging haste, that many fugitives were suffocated in the river, and others lost their horses and quantities of clothing which they were carrying, because there were no means of passing over the ford except by pieces of wood laid across one another. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque had gathered the women and children of the Turks together, he ordered that they should receive proper attention, and be safely kept; and on the second taking of this city he converted them to Christianity, and married them to Portuguese men, as I shall show further on.

Now that the great Afonso Dalboquerque was already in possession of the city, he ordered that the captains of the ships of Cananor should be called together, and then he gave them permission to depart, and made them accept a part of the spoils that had been taken there. And when

[1] *Bombardas.* [2] *Falcões.*

these men had departed, he called Timoja, and told him he had information that there yet remained some Turks in the castle of Banda, and in other strongholds round about it; and as he was determined that there should not remain any of the seed of these people in the whole of the kingdom of Goa, he was desirous of ordering him to destroy those castles, and put them all to the sword; he would therefore earnestly desire him to send his cousin with some *fustas* to show our people the entries to the rivers, for they did not know them.

Timoja replied that he considered it a good plan to order the casting out of all the Turks from the island of Goa, and from the neighbouring places, for as long as they remained therein they would give much trouble, so he would make his cousin ready with the *fustas* which were necessary for that object. This having been agreed upon, Afonso Dalboquerque sent word to D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, to make ready the ship *Sancta Clara*, and the *Cirne*, and the *Flor de la Mar*, and the *Flor da Rosa*, which were stationed outside the bar (as I have already said), and three galleys, and go and overrun all those places and destroy them, not sparing the life of a single Turk or Moor whom they might find.

D. Antonio set out and drew up opposite the fortress of Banda; and as soon as the fleet had dropped anchor, he got into the galleys and ships' boats, and made his way up the river, taking with him in the front rank the cousin of Timoja with three *fustas*. When the Hindoos of the land perceived our fleet, inflamed with hatred against the Turks, they all rose up against them, and these, terrified at our men, deserted the fortress and fled away into the interior country, so that when D. Antonio de Noronha arrived, the Hindoos were already in possession of it, and their captain immediately had an audience with D. Antonio, and paid him homage for the fortress, promising to hold himself in obedience to the king of Portugal.

As soon as the news that Banda had surrendered ran along the coast, the Turks who were in the fortress of Condal—distrusting the Hindoos who were elated at the favourable treatment they had received from our fleet—deserted it and fled up the river. And when it was known in the land that the Turks had fled, a Hindoo captain came with a large body of men, and put himself into the fortress, and sent his submission to Afonso Dalboquerque, holding himself to be a subject of the king of Portugal, and D. Antonio returned to Goa, and passed up the river with the large ships, and gave an account of what had taken place to his uncle, and how he had set fire to four vessels which the Rumes had in the river at Banda.

CHAPTER XXII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque began to build the fortress of Goa; and what passed with the Captains and Timoja.

No sooner had the great Afonso Dalboquerque obtained complete information respecting the affairs of Goa, than he began at once to turn his attention to the fortification of the city, with the determination of repairing it, and strengthening his position therein, in order to be able to rely on the assistance it would give him in his trouble. And his first operation was upon the foundations and walls, with many people of the land who laboured at the work; and the captains with their men had their hours of work according as it came by turn to them, and so the work of fortification progressed with great rapidity by reason of the fear he had lest the Hidalcão should come up against him, and there he stood all day long, and at night slept with his clothes on upon a couch. And within the fortress he ordered them to lay the foundations of some very large stone rooms, in order that in them he might collect every year large quantities of

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corn and rice, that from these might be victualled all the other fortresses and all the fleets of India, making preparations that there all the business of India should be carried on, according to what he saw in the arrangement and situation of the city.

When he had put all this work into order, he called for Timoja to advise with him concerning the settling of the land, and told him that since the King of Portugal was lord of the land, it would not be right that he should get less revenue from it than other former lords; that he ought, therefore, to summon a meeting of all the Hindoos, and notify to them that from that time forward they would have to pay to the King their lord, from the property they held, the tribute which hitherto they had been accustomed to pay to the King and Lord of Goa.

Timoja replied that he would call them together and acquaint them of this matter. But nevertheless he was not pleased to find that Afonso Dalboquerque had resolved to remain Goa; for he had, some days before this, privately requested him to hand over the place to him, with all its lands, and he would pay a certain sum every year by way of revenue for it, sustaining and defending the place at his own risk. And Afonso Dalboquerque always made a point of deferring to give any reply to this request of his, without giving any account of it to the captains, by reason of the necessity he had of using Timoja's men for the work of the building. But when Timoja perceived that Afonso Dalboquerque would not give him any definite answer, he made up his mind to relate the affair to certain of the captains, in order to gain them over to take his part; and they, as people who were wearied with the war and the operations in Goa, gave him to understand that it would be very beneficial to the service of the King if Afonso Dalboquerque would hand over to him the possession of Goa.

When Timoja had gained over to his side these captains

with whom he conversed, he began to put greater pressure upon Afonso Dalboquerque for an answer to his request, and because this business soon leaked out between them Afonso Dalboquerque, pretending to know nothing about it, ordered them all to be summoned to a meeting, and told them that they were well aware for how long a time Timoja had laboured in the service of the King of Portugal, and particularly what he had done towards the taking of the city, and how much reason there was that he should be rewarded, because, apart from its being very necessary that his services should be requited, it would also be an example to many others, urging them also to come forward and serve the King; and concluded by asking them to advise him what to do in the matter.

The captains, almost to a man, were of opinion that Goa should be given to him, alleging that Timoja was a lord over many people, and could maintain it, and defend it against the Turks; and that, notwithstanding all this, he would give twenty thousand *pardaos*[1] by way of tribute every year, and if he were to give this it would be more serviceable to the King than for them to maintain the place at their own cost.

When Afonso Dalboquerque saw the captains' intentions, he replied to them that he was very much surprised at their considering it right to give away so noble a city as Goa, and one so important for the service of the King of Portugal, to Timoja for no commensurate price which he would give for it, and not rather choosing to strengthen the city with a good fortress, because therein the governor of India ought to make his principal seat of government; neither ought the revenues to be farmed out to Timoja without first of all finding out to what sum they amounted, and being apprised of his intended manner of government, and whether, when

[1] 20,000 × 1s. 6½d. = £1541 13s. 4d., a large sum in the early years of the sixteenth century.

they had been so apprised of it, he would perform all things to the furtherance of the King's service. And, he continued, with regard to what they said concerning Timoja being sufficiently powerful to defend Goa from the Turks, he was much more surprised at this, that they were doing, by offering such advice, the very thing to make Timoja powerful enough to defend Goa from any one of the captains of the Hidalcão who might come against him, much more than from the Turks only. And the satisfaction due to him for his services should rather resemble that given to a spy who had bravely carried out the commands of his captain, or to a subject who had served his lord loyally, than that awarded to a man on whom the safety of every one depended. And they must not forget the services rendered by the King of Cochim, who indeed only received from the King of Portugal a yearly sum of five hundred cruzados, and was very well contented therewith.

The captains were so put to shame by this speech that Afonso Dalboquerque made to them, that they did not dare to reply to it. And when the meeting came to an end, he summoned Timoja before him, and told him that he had always desired to do him a kindness in the name of the King D. Manuel his lord in return for the numerous services that he had rendered in these parts; and as there was at present nothing that could be given to him, he would, in the King's name, make him a present of the whole of the revenue of the lands of Mergeu paid in the factory of Goa, and would appoint him to be chief *Aguazil*, and captain of all the people of the land; and that he begged him earnestly to be pleased to accept this offering, for the present occasion did not offer any possibility of recompense in any other manner; and with respect to his request, he could give no reply until he had in the first instance written to the King D. Manuel, but he would take care to carry out his Highness's wishes with regard to it.

Timoja was not pleased at this reply, for he had always entertained a hope that Afonso Dalboquerque would give Goa to him by reason of the promises that the captains had made to him, nevertheless he accepted the reward that had been offered, and returned home to his house a very rich man, because on the entering into the castle, Afonso Dalboquerque gave him two houses without ascertaining what he was giving, and it afterwards turned out that they contained a large quantity of merchandise and two *zambucos*, which Timoja loaded with the merchandise, and carried away with him. Three days after that Timoja had gone away, some Hindoos came to tell Afonso Dalboquerque that he was in the land of Salsete, and that as soon as he had got there every Hindoo had gone over to him and had come to a determination of going whithersoever he went and deserting the land. Afonso Dalboquerque knew that this was a piece of spite brought about by Timoja, but concealed his thoughts from the Hindoo messengers, and made as though he did not understand the drift of what they said.

When Timoja saw that Afonso Dalboquerque had not given any answer to the request of the Hindoos, he sent word to him by one *Naique*, his captain, that it had always been his desire to serve the King of Portugal, and for this reason, after he had set out, he had remembered that he had left him in Goa without anyone by his side to explain to him the manners and customs of the land, and therefore he would like to return again into the service of the King of Portugal, and do whatever was required of him. And thus Afonso Dalboquerque, although he now knew him to be a worthless and ill-tempered fellow, seeing that he had now abandoned his former request, consented to his return, and agreed to receive him again in order to settle, with this man's co-operation, the affairs of Goa.

As soon as Timoja received the message of recall he returned without loss of time, and Afonso Dalboquerque com-

mmanded the principal Moors and Hindoos to unite together and go to receive him. And these took many trumpets and made a great deal of music, according to their custom, when they met him. And after performing this show of native courtesy, Afonso Dalboquerque told them that he had made Timoja chief *Aguazil* of the kingdom of Goa in the name of the King of Portugal, and had given him all the power of justice over the Hindoos and Moors, and that he was to provide for all things arising in the land, and everything that he might order was to be obeyed. And then he invested him with a drawn sword, ornamented with silver on the handle, and with a ring, for it was the custom of the country to give these things to those who were entrusted with any high position in the government.

The Hindoos were very well pleased with the consideration and honour that Afonso Dalboquerque had shown to them, and they set Timoja in a kind of sedan-chair, and carried him all round the city, with great merry-making and blowing of trumpets. And when this was over Afonso Dalboquerque farmed out to him the lands of Goa—reserving the island—for one hundred thousand cruzados, he agreeing to pay all persons and expenses necessary for its defence; and when all these matters had been arranged they became very friendly, and from that day forward Timoja began to attend to his duties.

CHAPTER XXIII.

How the Ambassadors of the Xeque Ismael, and of the King of Ormuz, who were in Goa, sent word to the great Afonso Dalboquerque, desiring an audience: and what took place with them, and how he sent Ruy Gomes to the Xeque Ismael.

A few days before the time that the great Afonso Dalboquerque had made his entry into the city of Goa, there had arrived two ambassadors, the one from Xeque Ismael and

the other from the King of Ormuz, each one by himself with his embassy suite and his present of horses, and silk stuffs, and gold, for the Çabaio. But whereas they found he was dead, after the fall of the city, although it was the intention of the ambassador who came from Xeque Ismael to proceed on his mission to the Hidalcão, the son of the Çabaio, according to the instructions he had received from his lord, nevertheless, in that he was a discreet man and understood the position of affairs, he took no notice of these instructions, but sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque begging that he would be pleased to grant him an audience. And when he had obtained this permission, he came before him offering the present he had brought, and told him that the Xeque Ismael his lord, in consequence of the events which he had heard regarding India, was desirous of maintaining a firm friendship with the King of Portugal; and whereas he had been informed that his lordship, Afonso Dalboquerque, had conquered the kingdom of Ormuz, he had therefore sent an ambassador to visit him with a present of horses, pieces of silver, and other valuables, but when the ambassador arrived at Ormuz, he found him already set out on his expedition to India, and the principal reason of his visit was the desire of gaining information and appreciation from his lordship; and if the King of Ormuz were unwilling to put himself under his orders, he, Xeque Ismael, would send a very great army against him in order to force him to do so; for as for men, both on horse and on foot, he would promise to supply as many as could possibly be required, and that this and much more the ambassador had been instructed to say to him at Ormuz.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied that, with respect to the affairs at Ormuz, he looked upon them as settled, and that he should not lose much time before he went there again, and that he was determined from that point to enter the Red Sea; and since the Xeque Ismael had always carried on war with

the Turk and with the Grand Sultan of Cairo, it would be very necessary to the success of this policy that he should be in alliance with the King of Portugal his lord; because, apart from the supremacy over the Indian seas being in the King's hands, the royal fleets also ride triumphant in the Eastern Sea,[1] and he wages war with the Turk and with the Grand Sultan both on the one side and on the other. And, he continued, provided that the Xeque Ismael were desirous of confirming this friendly alliance with the King his lord, and of sending his ambassadors to visit him, and despatching his military forces against the house of Méca, there could be no doubt that the Turk and the Grand Sultan would lose their important positions, for the King of Portugal was very powerful upon the sea, and could bring immense fleets to the side of Xeque Ismael against them; and that for some time past he had been wishing to send an ambassador to him, to offer to him the kingdom of India in the name of the King his lord, but from having a great amount of business to transact he had omitted to do so, yet now he would send such an one in his company.

Then the ambassador began to dilate upon the grandeur of Xeque Ismael, and how very important a prince he was, a man of great fame, and desirous of extending his name throughout all the countries of the world; and, progressing with his reply, he proposed two things to Afonso Dalboquerque. The first was, that he should prevail upon the Moors of Goa to adopt the laws of Xeque Ismael, and perform their devotions according to his book in their mosques. The second, that he should issue an order for the coinage of the Xeque Ismael to pass current in Goa. To this Afonso Dalboquerque replied, that when the Moors surrendered to him the city of Goa, he had given them a royal safeguard in the name of the King of Portugal that they should live in liberty, and to put any compulsion upon them now in

[1] *Mar de levante.*

any matter, however small it were, would be in contravention of the promises that he had given to them, and a procedure which was not practised by Christian sovereigns. And, he continued, with regard to the currency of Xeque Ismael's money in Goa, he was greatly astonished at their entertaining the idea of such a thing, for kings were accustomed to value very highly their royal prerogatives, which consisted in their people and their subjects living in obedience to their laws, and in their coinage being received and current throughout their kingdoms at such value as the kings fixed upon it, and that a king would not on any consideration bring himself to permit any one to mint money in his land.

The ambassador answered that he had come to Goa with an embassy addressed to the Çabaio, and the instructions which he brought ordered him to speak upon these points; but, as he found the Çabaio dead, and his lordship Afonso Dalboquerque in possession of the kingdom of Goa, he had not exceeded his instructions in repeating to him the message of the Xeque his lord, for he was his ambassador; but if he had herein done anything wrong, he begged him of his graciousness to forgive him, for the first duty of ambassadors was to adhere faithfully to their instructions, and his duty in this case was to do what was most to the service of his King. And when this interview was concluded, the ambassador begged he would despatch his affairs, for he was desirous of setting out on his return journey.

Afonso Dalboquerque told him not to be annoyed, for he desired to make ready a messenger to be sent in company with him to the Xeque Ismael, and as soon as the ambassador had betaken himself to his house again, Afonso Dalboquerque sent word for the ambassador from the King of Ormuz, and enquired of him the reason of his coming, and what message it was that he brought for the Çabaio. The ambassador told him that Cogeatar had sent him, and the

principal reason of his coming was to make an offer of the whole of the estate of the King of Ormuz to the Çabaio, begging of him assistance and co-operation against the Portuguese; and, relating to him how things had gone lately with Ormuz, he told him not to be surprised or annoyed at the conduct of Cogeatar, because the captains had been the cause of all the dissensions that had sprung up between them.

When this interview was over that Afonso Dalboquerque held with the ambassadors, he busied himself with despatching without delay Ruy Gomez, the servant of King D. Manuel—(he had been sent in banishment from the Kingdom of Portugal to India in the Marshal's fleet)—in order to send him to Xeque Ismael in company with the Xeque's ambassador, and through him he sent a letter to the Xeque, and another to the King of Ormuz, which are given here in full further on, and he also delivered him instructions as to what he should say to the Xeque Ismael on his part. And this Ruy Gomez was accompanied by an interpreter and a servant. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque had arranged all the matters for the journey, he sent for the ambassador of Xeque Ismael, and shewed him much respect in the king's name, and then took his leave of them and gave them their pass, and the two embarked in two ships, whereof the captain and factor was Cogeamir, a noble Moor of Cananor, whom he found in Goa, and whom the Rumes had enslaved on the occasion of his coming in one of his ships from Ormuz with a cargo of horses and saying that he held a permit to navigate the Indian Sea from the King of Portugal and not from the Grand Sultan. And by this man Afonso Dalboquerque wrote a letter to Cogeatar, wherein he told him that if he would return to the obedience of the King of Portugal his Lord, and pay him the tribute which had been agreed upon, past troubles should be forgotten; and he begged him earnestly that this ambassador from Xeque Ismael

should not be charged any duty upon his merchandize, and that he would provide Ruy Gomez, whom he sent in the position of an ambassador, with relays of horses, and with money and everything else that he or his should have need of; and that he desired that the merchandise which Cogeamir carried with him—belonging to the King his Lord, should be exchanged for horses; and that the ships which should sail from Ormuz to Goa should carry with them his signature to their papers, and all come to Goa and no other port, for unless they came there he would not hold them free.

LETTER WHICH THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE WROTE, AND SENT BY RUY GOMEZ TO THE XEQUE ISMAEL.

"Very great and powerful Lord among the Moors, Xeque Ismael: Afonso Dalboquerque, Captain-General and Governor of India, in behalf of the very high and very powerful King D. Manuel, King of Portugal and of the Algarves on this side and on that side of the sea, in Africa Lord of Guinea, and of the conquest, navigation, and commerce of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, and of the Kingdom and Lordship of Ormuz, and of the Kingdom and Lordship of Goa: I give you to know that when I captured the city and kingdom of Goa, I found therein your ambassador, to whom I shewed great honour, treating him as ambassador of so great a King and Lord, and I looked to all his affairs just as if he had been sent to these parts to the King of Portugal. And whereas I am informed that the King D. Manuel, my Lord, would be pleased to have an understanding and alliance and intercourse with you; therefore I send to you this present messenger to whom you are to give credit in respect of all things which he shall relate to you on my behalf, for he is a knight and servant of the King my Lord, a man well-versed

in military matters, bred up in arms according to our custom, and of all the affairs of the kingdom of Portugal he will be competent to give you a very good account.

"You are well-informed how it was that I gained the city and kingdom of Ormuz in accordance with the command of the King, my Lord, and how from that time forward I strove to gain information concerning your estate, power, and command, and desired to send messengers to you, if the business of Ormuz had not miscarried, which I hope to God will soon be re-established, for I am in expectation of going thither in person, and thence I will endeavour to have an interview with you on the coast of the sea and harbours of your kingdom; for the powers which I carry from the King my Lord, of ships and mariners, are for destroying and casting out the ships of the Sultan that may enter India and desire therein to establish themselves—which deed, with the help of God, we have brought to pass, for the Sultan's captain, Mirocem, and his fleet were routed at Diu,[1] and all his ships and artillery taken, and all his people killed, and

[1] Concerning this important event in the history of the Portuguese in India, spoken of in the early chapters of this Second Part of the *Commentaries*, Camões contains the following passage:—

"Qual o touro cioso, que se ensaia
Para a crua peleja, os cornos tenta
No tronco d'hum carvalho, ou alta faia,
E o ar ferindo, as forças exprimenta:
Tal, antes que no seio de Cambaia
Entre Francisco irado, na opulenta
Cidade de Dabul a espada afia,
Abaixando-lhe a tumida ousadia.

"E logo, entrando fera na enseada
De Dio, illustre em cercos e batalhas
Fará espalhar a fraca e grande armada
De Calecut, que remos tem por malhas:
A de Melique Yaz acautelada,
Co'os pelouros que tu, Vulcano, espalhas,
Fará ir ver o frio e fundo assento,
Secreto leito do humido elemento.

now I have put them to flight and gained the city of Goa and all its fleet and cast all the enemy out of it, as your ambassador will relate to you.

"And whereas I have been informed that he is your enemy and makes war upon you, I send you this news, offering to you for employment against him my person and fleet, and the men of the King my Lord, to help to destroy him, and I will be against him whensoever you shall require this of me. And if you desire to destroy the Sultan by land, you can reckon upon great assistance from the Armada of the King my Lord by sea, and I believe that with small trouble you must gain the lordship of the city of Cairo, and all his kingdom and dependencies, and thus the King my Lord can give you great help by sea against the Turk, and thus his fleets by sea and you with your great forces and cavalry by land can combine to inflict troublous injuries upon them.

"And in India he has great fleets wherewith he can help you. And thus you will gather that you ought to desire to obtain alliance and co-operation with so great a king as is the King my Lord by sea and by land, and you ought to send him your ambassadors, for he will be very glad to see any one who is competent to give an account of your kingdoms and your dependencies. And if God grant that this intercourse and alliance be ratified, come you with all your power against the city of Cairo and the lands of the Grand Sultan which are on the borders of your own, and the King my Lord shall pass over to Jerusalem and gain from him all

"Mas a de Mir-Hocem, que, abalroando,
A furia esperará dos vingadores,
Verá braços, e pernas ir nadando,
Sem corpos, pelo mar, de seus senhores:
Raios de fogo irão representando
No cego ardor os bravos domadores:
Quanto alli sentirão olhos, e ouvidos,
He fumo, ferro, flammas, e alaridos."

Lusiada, x, 34-36.

the land on that side. And for the sake of correct information with respect to your intentions in this matter, it is befitting that you should send your messengers, and through them get a reply from the King my Lord, and meanwhile let me be advised of what you wish me to do, or in what quarter the fleet of the King my Lord can proceed and inflict most injury upon the Sultan for your service."

Instructions which the great Afonso Dalboquerque gave to Ruy Gomez, concerning that which he was to say to the Xeque Ismael.

"First of all your journey is to be made by whatever method and manner that you can well perform it, direct to the place where the Xeque Ismael may be; and on your arrival before him you shall do him that reverence which is due to so great a king and prince.

"On your arrival at Ormuz you shall send a requisition to Cogeatar to supply you with the relays of horses that you require, and a requisition to him to give you all things necessary for your expenses, and for the despatch of your journey, in accordance with the advice which I have forwarded to him in my letters.

"In the journey which you are thus about to prosecute, you shall be ever under the orders, advice, and disposition of the Ambassadors of the Xeque Ismael in whose company you go, nor shall you ever detach yourself from him to go and see cities, strongholds, towns, streets, festivals, or games, nor shall you follow any other route than that which he takes, but be in all things under his orders, for you well know how the Moors desire to inflict upon us all the loss they can.

"You shall say to the Xeque Ismael, on my behalf, that I send this visitation to him on account of the greatness of his fame, lordship, and influence, and on account of the

good and great qualities which he personally possesses, and also because he shelters the Christians, and shews favour and honour towards them.

"You shall tell him how my Lord will be pleased to come to an understanding and alliance with him, and will assist him in his war against the Sultan; and that I, in his name and on his behalf, offer him the fleet, and army, and artillery which I have with me, and the fortresses, towns, and lordships which the King of Portugal holds in India, and I will give him all this same help against the Turk.

"You will tell him that when he rises up and attacks the house of Méca, and is desirous of obtaining possession of it, I will enter the Red Sea and make my way to the harbour of Judá[1] with my fleet, and I will do likewise when he desires to go over the land of Arabia and Adem, and over the sea on the coast of Arabia, Bahrem,[2] and Catife,[3] and the city of Baçora;[4] and I will overrun all the coasts of the Persian Sea where I can come and see him; and I will do everything that I can for him.

"You will describe to him the greatness of the King my Lord, and of his kingdoms and dominions, and the extent of their richness and abundance; and speak of the greatness and beauty of the city of Lisbon, the edifices and costly houses that it contains, and of the great quantity and stores of silver, and gold, and riches, and number of people that are contained in the kingdom; and how the King my Lord has two gold mines which yield him every year a great

[1] See vol. i, p. 234, note 2, and the site of the "Cidade de Iuda" on Berthelot's chart, vol. i, p. 80.

[2] Baharem or Barem, "huma Ilha de Ormuz, onde se pesca o aljofar". See *Cam. Lus.*, x, 41, quoted in vol. i, p. 64, note; probably the Bahrein or Aval Islands, 26 deg. 10 min. N., 50 deg. 35 min. E.

[3] El-katiff, on the western side of the Persian gulf, 26 deg. 32 min. N., 50 deg 8 min. E.

[4] Bassorah, or Basra, in Irak-Arabi, Turkey in Asia, 30 deg. 31 min. N., 47 deg. 53 min. E.

quantity of precious metal; and you will relate to him the abundance of the ships that belong to the kingdom, their greatness, and the large fleets which he prepares every year for India; and how his fleets and subjects sail all over the world; and that he sends fleets to the East against the Turks.

"You will tell him how the King my Lord has acquired many towns, cities, and villages by force of arms in Africa; and how his power and dominion are rapidly progressing all along the sea-coast down to the Cape of Good Hope, and from that point inwardly as one enters the sea of India; and you will speak of the fortresses that are contained in this region, and the kings that are therein subject to his supreme authority.

"You will, moreover, tell him of the Queen my Sovereign Lady; whose daughter she is,[1] and how the king her father, and the queen, her mother, hold their kingdoms and dominions which border upon the kingdom of Portugal: and in this manner you will give him an account of her estate, and of the maids of honour who minister to her, that they are daughters of dukes, marquesses, and counts of Portugal; and how they appear clothed in brocades and cloth of gold, and in all sorts of different coloured silks, and adorned with much jewelry, and that on passing from the service of the queen, these maids are married to the grandees of the kingdom.

"You will mention the household estate of the king my Lord, how he is served, and in what manner he eats at his high table of four degrees, while all the great lords and fidalgos who frequent his court, stand at the table with their

[1] King Manoel, or Emmanuel "The Fortunate", married Maria of Castile, daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Aragon, and Isabella of Castile, in 1500. She was born in 1482 and died in 1517, and was the second wife of King Manoel who had previously married her elder sister, Isabella of Aragon.

caps removed from their heads until he has finished his repast and retired.

"You will tell him that he ought to send an ambassador to the King my Lord, with a view to procuring alliance and assistance, not only with regard to the war against his enemies, but also in the matter of the merchandise which can be sent into Persia from the kingdom of Portugal by way of Ormuz; and the King will help him against the Sultan, and against the Turk, by sea and by land, provided that he on his part will send to solicit his alliance, co-operation, and assistance.

"You will not omit to make mention to him of our Faith, and observe what his opinions are in this matter, and if he receives you well; and what you say to him in this respect shall not be more than what can be said without giving him any offence; and you will gather from the Christians of those parts if they practise the rites of our Faith, and believe truly that Our Lord was born of Our Lady, and died, and suffered on the Cross to save us; and you will take notice if any of these Christians exercise rites different in any way to ours, in the practice of their Faith; and see you if you can manage to bring some one of them back with you, that he may go to Rome to the Holy Father.

"You will inspect their churches and the ornaments therein, the altars, images, and saints; noting if they have Our Lord upon the Cross, and the image of Our Lady, and observing the manner of life among the friars and clergy, and their habits, and if there exist in this land any relics of the bodies of saints, martyrs, and apostles.

"You will relate to him minutely all the nature of the state of the King my Lord (although in a previous clause I have instructed you to touch but lightly upon these matters); nevertheless you will give him a detailed account of the greatness of the King of Portugal's feasts, the riches and

brilliancy of his household officers and of his court, the beauty of his palace wherein they live; and of the expense of his feasts, and the treasures, precious stones, pearls, and jewels, that they wear of various fashions; and of the grandness of his Court and of the mounted soldiers who are continually going up and down on guard therein; and of the Ambassadors of the Kings his neighbours who are ever coming to his Court; and of all other particular matters which he may desire to hear of from you.

"You will tell him and assure him how loyally and truly affected towards their Lord the Portuguese are; and this you shall perform in such a manner that the Xeque may desire earnestly and endeavour to acquire the alliance, assistance, and co-operation of the King my Lord, and may so be minded to take upon himself entirely the obligation and good will of doing likewise whenever he shall be called upon to do so, either by request of the King himself or by that of the Captain General, made in his name.

"You will also give him an account of the power, and fleet, and men, and arms, and artillery which I have under my orders in India; and also the great quantity of artillery and its extent which the King my Lord has in his kingdom; and you will relate to him how the soldiers of Portugal march on horseback, and tell him of the trappings of silver and gold, the saddles and caparisons which they have on their horses, and also of their military arrangements and brilliant appearance, and how the men-at-arms march, and the fashion and manner of their arms.

"I command you that both you and the interpreter whom you have with you do minutely read these instructions, and you are to adjust your account with that of the interpreter in such a manner that there be no discrepancy in the relations which you are to deliver in respect of all these matters, but that you be ever unanimous and act in conformity with my letter which I write to him."

LETTER WHICH THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE WROTE TO THE KING OF ORMUZ.

"Most honourable King Ceifadin, Abenadar, King of Ormuz, in the name of the most high and most mighty D. Manuel, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, on this side and on that side of the sea; in Africa Lord of Guinea, and of the Conquest, Navigation, [and] Commerce of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, and of India, and of the kingdom and dominion of Ormuz, and of the kingdom and dominion of Goa; I, Afonso Dalboquerque, Captain-General and Governor of India for the King D. Manuel my Lord, send you my greetings. Here in Goa I met with your messenger, and treated him with honour and befitting entertainment, out of my love for you. My departure from Cochim with the King's fleet was that I might make my way to your city of Ormuz to establish there a factory, and place therein certain persons whom the King has commissioned. You are to know that the Rumes prepared a fleet in Goa, but I came up against the city and captured it, and cast them out of it, and took all their fleet and artillery. If I can come and pass the winter with you in Ormuz, I will come; I have ordered a large quantity of provisions to be made ready against the arrival of the men composing my fleet, who are very numerous; I have forgiven and forgotten all that is past; I am your great friend; Cogeamir is going to you, he carries these two ships of the King my Lord, laden with his merchandise; I shall be glad if he is recognised and well greeted by you, as well as these messengers whom I send to you with a message from the King to the Xeque Ismael. I send my recommendations to you, and to your father and to your mother. Be well assured that in all your dealings I will assist you always like a true friend. Done at Goa, on the twentieth of March, 1510."

As soon as Ruy Gomez and Cogeamir arrived at Ormuz

they delivered the letters and messages which they carried from Afonso Dalboquerque to Cogeatar, who showed great attention and consideration towards Ruy Gomez. And after enquiring particularly of him after the present state of Afonso Dalboquerque, how he was, and after the state of affairs at Goa, he told him to retire to his lodging to get over the discomforts of the sea voyage, for he would set him on his return journey without delay. But, inasmuch as this same Cogeatar was still actuated with hatred towards Afonso Dalboquerque,—not only because of the favour which the Viceroy had shewn to him, but also because Duarte de Lemos, who occupied the position of chief captain of that coast, had apprised him that the King, D. Manuel, had not been pleased at the destruction which had been wrought upon that coast, and also because he was annoyed at the fresh alliance which Afonso Dalboquerque desired to enter into with the Xeque Ismael,—instead of remitting the dues in the case of the ambassador, he laid to his charge whatever he chose, and carried off from him as much as he carried: and he planned matters so that they killed Ruy Gomez by poison. When the servants saw that Ruy Gomez was dead, they made their way back to India, and Cogeamir continued to unload his ships and gathered together his merchandise and then returned to India, but did not go near Goa, as will be related hereafter. And thus it was that this embassy bore no fruit; and afterwards Afonso Dalboquerque sent Miguel Ferreira as ambassador to Xeque Ismael with this same set of instructions which he had given to Ruy Gomez, and in its proper place an account of his journey will be given.

CHAPTER XXIV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered Francisco Pantoja to provide the fortress of Çacotorá with supplies, and what passed herein with Duarte de Lemos respecting a ship which he captured on the way.

On the departure of the ambassadors, the great Afonso Dalboquerque despatched Francisco Pantoja to the fortress of Çocotorá (for he had not received any news for a long time from D. Afonso, his nephew, the captain of the fortress,) with a ship laden with supplies: and through him he wrote and forwarded a letter to Duarte de Lemos, wherein he informed him that he had set out for Cochim with his fleet, with the intention of uniting himself to his (Duarte's) forces, in accordance with what he had before written and sent through Diogo Correa; but that when he had progressed on his voyage as far as Onor, Timoja had come up with him, and in consequence of the intelligence that the latter had given him with respect to the condition that Goa was in; and because the city could be captured without much trouble or peril to his men, he had altered his plans and gone up against the city and gained possession of it, more by the divine favour of Our Lord than by human force; and that he was now employed in strengthening its fortifications with an intention of maintaining them, because he was strongly of opinion that such a policy of maintenance would redound greatly to the service of the King of Portugal. But, he added, as soon as all this was arranged, he would come with a powerful fleet to fulfil the promises he had made.

And he also commanded Francisco Pantoja that, if it so fell out that Duarte de Lemos were in Ormuz, he should proceed thither to see him, and if he had any money in hand from the receipt of the tribute, that he should send it on to him, Afonso Dalboquerque, because he was very

much in want of it on account of the expenses connected with the building of the fortress—(for the King, D. Manuel, had ordered Duarte de Lemos to assist Afonso Dalboquerque by every manner of means, and that the government of Ormuz was to be under obedience to his commands, as he would see by the letter which he sent him). And Afonso Dalboquerque further ordered Francisco Pantoja to say to D. Afonso [de Noronha], his nephew, if indeed he had not already set out on his voyage, that he was to come at once, because the King had sent word that he was to be appointed captain of Cananor, and Pero Ferreira, who was at Quiloa, to remain behind as captain in the fortress of Çacotorá, as he would have seen in the provisional instructions which had been forwarded through Diogo Correa.

Francisco Pantoja, after he had set out on his journey, was crossing over the great Indian Gulf towards Çacotorá, when he came upon a ship belonging to the King of Cambaya, which was called *Meri*,[1] and proceeding on its voyage laden with merchandise for Meca—a vessel of about six hundred tons, whose captain was a noble Moor of Cambaya, named Alicão.[2] And, although the Moor trusted in his numerous and stout men that he had on board, and put himself in an attitude of defending his ship with the object of saving the lives and property of all, nevertheless our party attacked them and fought so valiantly that the enemy surrendered and their ship was taken. And with this prize Francisco Pantoja sailed straight away to Çacotorá, where he found Duarte de Lemos who had come thither but a few days before from Melinde with four ships, in expectation of Afonso Dalboquerque's arrival, in order to accompany him

[1] This appears to have been a common name for a ship among the Arabs; for the description of another ship so called, captured by the Portuguese at Ormuz, see vol. i, pp. 113-115.

[2] This name seems to be the Portuguese translation of the name *Ali-Khan*.

in his entry of the Straits, according to the message which had come to him; and he found also Pero Ferreira acting as captain of the Fort S. Miguel, for D. Afonso de Noronha had sailed away in April last to India.

As soon as Francisco Pantoja had arrived and delivered his letters from Afonso Dalboquerque to Duarte de Lemos, the latter, observing the valuable nature of the ship, ordered him to deliver it up to the factory, and he would thereupon give orders to pay to him and his men whatever their share of the prize should amount to. But Francisco Pantoja being angered at this arbitrary proceeding on the part of Duarte de Lemos towards him, said that he did not belong to his division but to that of Afonso Dalboquerque, who was Captain-General of all those parts, and to him alone would it be right that he should deliver the ship; and hereupon he made a great show of remonstrance. But Duarte de Lemos did not desist from his demands, for he replied that he himself was the chief captain of those parts, and since the prize had been captured in waters subject to his jurisdiction, it therefore fell to him to superintend the management and distribution of the property; and without caring to hear any more about the matter, he gave orders to discharge the cargo, and took for himself all the share which belonged to Afonso Dalboquerque, without holding any ceremony with Francisco Pantoja, nor giving him anything of that which properly should have come to his share.

And having done this, and considering that Afonso Dalboquerque could no longer that season come to join forces with him, by reason of the successful operations at Goa, he made up his mind to spend no more time in waiting, but to make his way to India; and the more so because he had lost two ships, and the four which remained were so much out of repair that they could no longer render any service to the King in those parts. Therefore, after taking supplies and water he took leave of Pero Ferreira, captain of the fortress,

and set sail, carrying with him Francisco Pantoja in his company, and the ship *Meri*: and without any adventures happening by the way, he reached Cananor on the last day of August, where he found Afonso Dalboquerque, who had arrived there from Goa but a few days before him, as will be related further on.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the agreement which the great Afonso Dalboquerque entered into with Timoja and the principal men of the country, concerning the dues they would be required to pay each year, and how at their request he ordered coin to be struck.

After that Francisco Pantoja had sailed away, Timoja proceeded to the great Afonso Dalboquerque with the principal men and nobles of the land, as well Moors as Hindoos; and they told him that, in order that the course of things in Goa should remain in the same order and ancient custom in which they had always been hitherto, it would be necessary that all should understand the method which they were to practise in regard to the payment of dues. For, they alleged, the Çabaio, after he had become Lord of the kingdom of Goa, had doubled the amount of taxes, at which proceeding every one had been annoyed, and on this account many Hindoos had gone away to settle in divers parts; for anciently they used to pay a hundred and fifty thousand *xerafins*;[1] but afterwards the Çabaio had doubled this tax; and that they were afraid lest his Lordship, following this practice which he had found them labouring under, should oblige them still to pay this increased taxation; and that they begged him of his kindness to endeavour to arrange

[1] For the value of the *xerafim*, see vol. i, p. 82, note; 150,000 *xerafins* = (300 × 150,000 =) 45,000,000 *reis* = 45,000 *milreis* or dollars = £9,375 English money, and a very considerable sum in the years of this history.

this matter in such a manner that the people might be able to get their living, and yet pay something: for it was but reasonable to expect, now they had become the servants of so great a king as the King of Portugal was, that they should enjoy more liberty, in some respects, than they had hitherto possessed, when they lived under the rule of the Çabaio, a tyrant who had been ill-disposed towards them.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied, that his coming to Goa was not with the intention of visiting upon them the tyrannies of the Hidalcão, but on the contrary to shew favour towards them, and to honour them, and to give them increased means of living, provided that they, on their part, were willing to be true and loyal vassals of the King of Portugal, their Lord. And upon the condition that they would willingly remain in this obedience, he, on his part, would remit to them, in the name of the king, the taxes which the Çabaio had recently imposed upon them, and they should pay henceforth only as much as they had been accustomed to pay to the lords of the kingdom of Goa when they were of the Hindoo dynasties; but this remission should be in force only as long as they were in subjection to the King of Portugal and to his Governors of India. But that in case they should ever be called upon by any Governor of India and not respond to the call immediately, having no good grounds of excuse for such remissness, then they should be obliged to pay the same taxes that they had paid to the Çabaio.

Timoja and the others received, in the name of the people, the lands with these conditions that Afonso Dalboquerque laid down; but it had also to be stipulated that he should appoint over them a Tanadar,[1] and Hindoos to govern them.

[1] *Tanadar: Thânâdâr*, Hindostani; *Thânedâr*, Maráthí and Guzaráthí. Bluteau considers this officer equivalent to *Quæstor supremus*, or *Quæstorum magister*, and translates it by *Almoxarife*, receiver of imposts, superintendent of royal domains. Wilson explains this word

Afonso Dalboquerque told them that he would promise not to appoint any Moor to the office of *Tanadar*, and he would give orders that the taxes should be collected by Portuguese in combination with certain Hindoos of the land to be appointed by Timoja, in order that everything should be done with least oppression of the people. And after having thus arranged the matter with them, Afonso Dalboquerque commanded that an oath should be administered to them, according to their heathen manner, that they would account for these taxes with him or the Governor of India for the time being; and he ordered that two *pacharins*[1] should be given to each one, for it was an ancient custom in the land to give these to these Hindoos.

On the conclusion of this business, Afonso Dalboquerque gave them permission to return to their houses and commence the collection of the taxes, according to the local registers of the lands. And they desired him to appoint over them certain *Tanadares*, who have the same office as our *Almoxarifes*,[2] to collect the revenue, and dispense justice among them. In order to content them, Afonso Dalboquerque nominated Bras Vieira over them as *Tanadar* of Cintacorá, and Gasper Chanoca to act as his secretary, and over all the other offices of *Tanadar* he appointed for them,

thus:—"An officer in charge of a *Thánâ*, formerly, an officer under the *Faujdár* (criminal judge or magistrate), employed, with a small irregular force, in protecting the country and enforcing payment of the revenue." The *Thánâ* was "a military post, or garrison, *a place*, sometimes with a small fort, where a petty officer, with a small irregular force, was posted to protect the country, preserve the peace, and to aid in making the collections."

[1] *Pacharim.* I am unable to fix the signification of this word with any satisfactory degree of certainty; but it probably refers to a sum of money.

[2] *Almoxarife;* the obsolete forms are *almosarifa*, and *almozarife*, a receiver of customs and imposts. Arabic, *almoshrif*, inspector.—See Engelmann's "Glossaire des mots . . . Portugais dérivés de l'Arabe", particularly the edition enlarged by Dozy.

as *Tanadares*, a number of honourable men, servants of the King, in whom he had complete confidence, to execute justice among them. And he ordered Timoja to appoint to each of these officers a Hindoo scrivener in order to show them the method to be pursued in collecting the revenue; and to each *Tanadar* he told off two hundred peons of the country to accompany them and carry out the instructions of their masters in the collection of the revenue. And he sent João Alvarez de Caminha, who was a very honourable man and possessed great authority, in order to set those things in action as they should be carried on, and to put them into working order; and to repose in him a confidence with regard to other greater matters; and to be his scrivener Antonio Fragoso was appointed; and a Hindoo servant of Timoja to show him the register-books of the lands, how they were held in separate occupation, in order that there should be no dishonesty. And João Alvarez de Caminha managed everything in such a manner that everybody was well pleased. The Hindoos who had fled out of Goa returned to their original dwelling places in the land immediately that they perceived that Afonso Dalboquerque had remitted to them a moiety of the dues which they had been accustomed to pay to the Çabaio, and had appointed natives over them to govern them.

As soon as João Alvarez de Caminha had gone with all the *Tanadares* to set them in their places throughout the lands, in accordance with the instructions contained in his papers, Timoja went, in company with certain principal Moors and Hindoos of the country, to Afonso Dalboquerque, and told him that the people of the city and the merchants were suffering from a great depression, not only in the government thereof, but also with respect to the merchant trade, because there was no currency of coin. And they begged he would of his graciousness grant a permission for coining some

money, because it was impossible for the city to be well governed without a currency of coinage; and they alleged that he ought to order the price of gold and silver to be raised in order to prevent their exportation.

So Afonso Dalboquerque called a meeting of the captains, and laid open to them the matters which Timoja and the deputation of merchants had requested him in the name of the people to put into effect. And the captains, after debating upon the affair, unanimously agreed that the coinage of some money should be commenced. But Afonso Dalboquerque replied, that he was quite convinced by the reasons which Timoja gave, that it would be good to mint some money; yet, seeing that this was a novel proceeding, and one that had never before taken place in India, he would not venture to do so without first writing to the King his Lord, who should herein provide as best for his service, and thereupon he dismissed them.

However, after a few days had elapsed, Timoja returned, bringing with him the others who had formerly accompanied him, to discuss the previous requests that had been made, and, in presence of the captains, he begged earnestly that Afonso Dalboquerque would either give orders for the coinage of some money, because everything was going to ruin from want of it, and barter of merchandise could not be effected, or at least that he would permit the coinage of the Çabaio to pass current. The captains, after hearing the reasonable arguments which Timoja made in favour of the issue of a new currency, and listening to the relation of the inconveniences which resulted from the want of it, agreed to what they had said in the first assembly. So Afonso Dalboquerque, on consideration that the King of Portugal would hereby gain credit, renown, and profit, and that the kingdom was in his hands, agreed to give permission for minting money, and to write to the King respecting the circumstances of the case. And in order that the

money should be produced in a befitting style, he called a meeting of the goldsmiths and some Portuguese experts whom he had with him, and Timoja and the principal men of the city, and commanded them to make a trial of the silver of the Moors, and every one found that it was of the same intrinsic value as our own. When this trial was concluded Afonso Dalboquerque appointed Tristão Déga to be treasurer of the mint, and gave orders forthwith for the coinage of money in silver, and gold, and copper; and on the one side they were to stamp a cross of [the order] of Christus,[1] and on the other a sphere,—the device of the King D. Manuel,[2]—and the silver coin was to be equivalent in weight to a *bragani*,[3]—which is a Moorish weight equal to two *vintens*[4] Portuguese, and these he called *spheres*;[5] and he made another kind, which were smaller, and weighed one *vintem*, and these he called *half-spheres*,[6] and the copper moneys he called *leaes*;[7] and the other smaller copper moneys, of which three went to the *leal*, he called *din-*

[1] For the shape of this Cross, which resembles the heraldic *Cross pattée*, see the work on Portuguese Numismatics by Fernandes, cited below, note 5.

[2] "Teve El Rey D. Manoel por empreza a *Esfera*, que vulgarmente se chamava então *Espera*."—Manoel Severim de Faria, *Noticias de Portugal*, p. 186.

[3] *Bragani:* Cf. *Bargan*, or *burgun*, Hindostani; a partition, or share.

[4] *Vintem*, a penny, or twenty *reis (vinte = twenty)*, of which fifty go to the dollar *(milreis = one-thousand reis)*, or 4s. 2d. The English sovereign is equal to 4·8 dollars = 240 *vintens* = 4800 *reis*.

[5] *Esperas*. These copper coins, called here *Esperas*, and *Meas Esperas*, *i.e.*, spheres and half-spheres, must not be confounded with the gold coins called *Esfera*, struck by King Manoel, which on the one side had the device of a sphere, on the other the Latin inscription *Mea*, intending thereby to show that the sphere which King John II had given him for a device had been by him acquired by the glorious acquisition to the Portuguese Crown in the discovery and conquest of India and Brazil. See also a work by Manoel Bernardes Lopes Fernandes, in the "Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa", 2a Classe, 1856, p. 121.

[6] *Meas Esperas*.

[7] *Leaes*, the plural form of *leal*.

heiros;[1] and in order that the gold coins should not be taken away out of the country, he ordered that the *cruzados* should be taken as equal to seventeen *braganis*.[2] And when these matters had been arranged, the coining of the money was commenced, and as soon as a large quantity had been made, on the twelfth of March, in the year one thousand five hundred and ten, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that all the captains should be called together, with the fidalgoes and cavaliers, and all the noble persons of the fleet, and all the principal merchants among the Moors, and the Hindoo *chitins*;[3] and when these had assembled together in a large hall

[1] *Dinheiros; denarii*, Lat.; *deniers*, Fr.; *Dinheiro* is the generic name for all kinds of money, but in this case was evidently attributed to a certain very small coin.

[2] In order to put this novel system of coinage more clearly before the reader, I have constructed the following table. Very good notices on this coinage will be found in "Noticias de Portugal escritas por Manoel Severim de Faria", Lisbon, 8vo, 1791, tom. ii, pp. 68-72; and the work of Manoel Bernardes Lopes Fernandes mentioned in a previous note. The coins themselves are so rare, that they may almost be described as no longer extant, for this writer does not figure any of them.

Portuguese.		Goa Money.	Moorish.
	Copper.	*Dinheiro*, the smallest coin.	
	Copper.	3 *Dinheiros* = 1 *Leal*, perhaps an adaptation of the word *real*, *rial*, or *rei* to Indian mouths; if so, twenty went to the *vintem*.	
1 *Vintem* . =	Silver.	1 half *Espera*, or *Mea Espera*.	
2 *Vintens* . =	Silver.	1 *Espera*	= 1 *Bragani*.
[34 *Vintens*]	Gold.	= 1 *Cruzado* . . . . . But cf. vol. i. p. 17, n. 1, for the Portuguese values of this coin.	= 17 *Braganis*.

[3] *Chitins*. "*Chitti*, or *Chetti*, more correctly *Sethi*, and corruptly *Chitty*. All members of the trading castes in the Madras provinces, either shopkeepers or merchants."—*Wilson*.

of the Çabaio's palace (wherein he used to live), that had been especially decorated for this occasion, Afonso Dalboquerque told them that he had given orders to mint silver and copper coinage, according to the arrangement that had been made, and in order to make the matter quite public it had been necessary to order proclamation to be made to every one of them throughout the city (for this was the native custom that used to be practised in the lands which the kings gained anew), for them to say if he should do so. And all declared that to them it appeared good that this should be done, since there were no other reasons to the contrary about it. And then, at this unanimous expression of favourable opinion, Afonso Dalboquerque immediately gave the word to take the royal flag, and the trumpets and kettledrums, and assemble all the men in the fleet, and ordered Tristão Déga to go and proclaim it; and he went with all this company of people all round the city, and at each proclamation that was made they scattered quantities of the new money over the heads of the crowds, which were great, and they went on proceeding in this manner all round the city.

As soon as this proceeding was over, Afonso Dalboquerque commanded that proclamation should be made, in the name of the King of Portugal, that no one from that day henceforward, under severe penalties, should keep any of the coinage of the Çabaio in his house, nor make any use of it, but whoever had any should carry it to the Mint, and there it should be exchanged for him with that of the King of Portugal; and whoever should break these regulations should incur legal penalties according as he Afonso Dalboquerque should think fit to impose upon him. The people were very much pleased with the money, and from that day henceforward they began to trade with their merchandise.

CHAPTER XXVI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque made ready to winter in Goa, and sent Diogo Fernandes from Béja to the fortress of Cintácora.

Inasmuch as the great Afonso Dalboquerque had made up his mind to maintain Goa and fortify his position therein, he determined, before winter should become more settled, to provide himself with all things necessary for that undertaking; and issued immediate orders for collecting together all the supplies that could be found. And all the horses that remained in the land were placed in some large stables which the Çabaio had erected in the fortress, wherein formerly they used to place the horses which the dealers brought from Ormuz to sell. And for this purpose the Çabaio used to have a *Xabandar*,[1] whose office corresponds to that of *Almoxarife da ribeira*, [superintendent receiver of the royal import dues,] whose duty it was to look to the care of the horses, and the people were obliged to bring hay, and corn, and *mungo*[2], which is a certain species of seed that they feed the horses with, in abundance. And to this *Xabandar*, in union with other Moors on which this charge devolved, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders to look to the provender of these horses, and to see to all the other matters relating to the coast, with the intention of proceeding with his management of the affairs of Goa in the manner of his ordinances and government.

[1] *Xabandar*; a consul for merchants, a resident for affairs relating to commerce and trade.—*Vieyra*. From the text, it is evident that this officer is the *Zemindar* of the Indian continent, in his more ordinary capacity of responsible collector only of the revenues on behalf of the Government under the Mohammedan administration rather than as hereditary owner of the land he occupies. Wilson (pp. 562, 563) gives a concise account of this officer's position and duties.

[2] *Mungo*; a sort of pulse much used by the natives of India as an article of food. It is the *Phaseolus mungo* of Linnæus; cf. *Mung*, or *Mug*, Hindostani.

And seeing that the beginning of April was now come—when the winter commences in those parts,—Afonso Dalboquerque desired, before any more time should elapse, to acquaint the King of Cochim and the captain of the fortress and the officers of the factory, that he had made up his mind to pass the winter in Goa and complete the fortress that he had commenced, and that they must send him all the saddles they had among them, and certain stores.

Francisco Serrão set out immediately in a *caravela* [with this message], but he never went back with any reply: it appears that it was fear that prevented him from returning, although he gave it as an excuse that he was unable to get back on account of the weather;[1] but Afonso Dalboquerque would not accept the excuse at his hands, and when the events at Goa had gone by, and the expedition was returning to Cochim, he deprived him of the captaincy of his *caravela* and ordered him to be placed under arrest.

After Francisco Serrão had set out, Afonso Dalboquerque observing that the work of coining the new money progressed very slowly, and did not suffice for the demand upon it for the wages of the servants who were employed in the work of the fortress, nor for the maintenance of the fleet, at the rate of a *cruzado* a month, ordered the captains to provide food each one for his own people, and this he did for two reasons. The first reason was, because he had a large store of provisions now in the city and by means of them he could provide against this outlay, which otherwise could not be kept up at the rate of payment of a *cruzado* a month to every man, because the moneyers could not coin sufficient amounts to meet all demands. The second reason was, that he had been notified of the coming of the Hidalção, and desired to have all the men close by to withstand any attack that might be made upon them.

[1] *Por amor dos tempos.*

The captains were, however, tired with the labour that they had to undergo in constructing the fortress—for each one had his time of service arranged wherein he had to be at work with his men,—and were now desirous of going and taking their pleasure at Cochim; and also of shifting off their shoulders the additional trouble that would arise from having to provide food for their men; they therefore gave this advice to the soldiers, that they should not accept the eating in the captains' houses in place of money payments, but rather beg to be supplied with money for their own support; knowing all the while that from the great scarcity of money they could not be well provided therewith, and by reason of this check Afonso Dalboquerque would be compelled to abandon Goa and make his way to Cochim, which was what the captains occupied their thoughts about, and not whether the men were well or badly provided for.

Now, whereas Afonso Dalboquerque understood that the prime inciter of the people to disaffection was Jorge da Cunha, and that at his house Estevão Baiam and Francisco de Figueiredo had met and drawn up a list of many men who were to go and beg him, Afonso, to command that they should be paid their dues in money in order not to have to eat in the halls of their captains, he issued order to arrest Estevão Baiam and Francisco de Figueiredo as a punishment to them, and to prevent any further loss arising from this matter. And when those men who were mixed up in this conspiracy saw them arrested, they grew alarmed lest a similar fate should overtake themselves, and abandoned their intended requisition and went and took their meals in the captains' halls according to the arrangements that had been put in force. And in the judicial examination which was proceeded with in connection with this affair it was found that Jorge da Cunha was very much to blame, Afonso Dalboquerque therefore ordered the other two who were in durance to be released, and reprehended Jorge da Cunha

on account of this, as well as on account of many other things which he had done. And Jorge da Cunha was so much disconcerted at the words which Afonso Dalboquerque addressed to him, that after a few days had elapsed he united with Jeronymo Teixeira, Luis Continho, and Francisco de Sousa Mancias (who were all of one way of thinking), and they went before him and besought permission to go away to Cochim ; but as he would not grant this to them, from this time henceforth they carried themselves very passionately and angrily in their conduct towards him.

Nevertheless, Afonso Dalboquerque, on account of his great desire to complete the fortress out of dread lest the Hidalcão should come upon him unprepared, pretended not to notice them, and put up with all that they did. And he dispatched Diogo Fernandez de Béja, with sundry vessels and men, to proceed with the rebuilding of the fortress of Cintácora, and to remain therein as captain, lest, if the Hidalcão should come, any Moors should be placed therein with the opportunity of inciting the land to rise up against him. But when Diogo Fernandez arrived at Cintácora he found a large part of the fortress thrown down and ruined ; and as winter had now begun to set in and there was no opportunity of beginning the work anew, he went back to Goa and reported to Afonso Dalboquerque the state in which he had found the fortress, and that a very great space of time would be required to repair it, and therefore he had returned.

CHAPTER XXVII.

How Mandaloy, Lord of Condal, wrote to the great Afonso Dalboquerque the news he had of the coming of the Hidalcão, and what was done respecting this information.

The affairs of Goa being in the state that I have described, Mandaloy, Lord of Condal, wrote a letter to the great Afonso Dalboquerque, wherein he informed him that

Balogi, Lord of the castle and lands of Pervaloy and of the kingdom of Sanguiçar, had put himself in communication with Roçalcão, a captain of the Çabaio, and with Melique Rabão, Lord of Carrapetão, and all three had sent their ambassadors to the Hidalcão, desiring him to furnish them with men, in order that, adding them to the forces they already had under arms, they might make a descent upon the territories of Goa and reduce them to obedience again; and that Balogi, who had been already in the interior at Banda with a large force, was there with two thousand men, raised at his own cost with the determined intention of defending that land on behalf of the Hidalcão, or to die in performing this service for his lordship; and earnestly begged him, Afonso Dalboquerque, to send him some reinforcement of men; and he, Mandaloy, on his part, would immediately deliver the lands to whomsoever should be sent, for he himself desired nothing more than a mere subsistence for the rest of his life.

As soon as this letter had been delivered to Afonso Dalboquerque, he called a meeting of the captains, and after having ordered the letter to be read in their presence, he told them that Timoja had offered to conduct an expedition at his own expense to the assistance of Mandaloy, and asked them whether he should entrust this business to him, or send some other person of greater authority. After debating for some time, it was unanimously agreed that Afonso Dalboquerque ought to send some captain who was a *fidalgo*, with a force of foot and horse soldiers by land and vessels by sea, to succour them. And having accepted this determination, Afonso Dalboquerque told off, for the conduct of this expedition, Jorge da Çunha, with sixty mounted men and several crossbow-men and musketeers, and in their company he sent Menaique,[1] one of the captains of Timoja, and Melique Çafecondal, with four

[1] Probably the man named *Naique* on page 105.

thousand native troopers, and Baldrez, the interpreter, and Diogo Fernandez de Béja with three vessels by sea, with instructions that he was to be under the command of Jorge da Cunha as soon as he came up with him.

And when all was in readiness, the expedition set out, and Jorge da Cunha reached the island of Divarij with the intention of passing over to the mainland on the following morning. But on that same night, which was the twenty-third day of the month of April, a native Canarese came to him with great haste, and brought him information that to the land of Banda[1] and of Condal there had arrived two of the Hidalcão's captains with a numerous body of men, and that it was reported that their intentions were to make good their entrance into the Island of Goa.

As soon as Jorge da Cunha had heard this news, he remained where he was, and would not permit Melique Çufecondal to pass over to the other side; but he sent the Canarese messenger with this news to Afonso Dalboquerque, who immediately sent him back again to Jorge da Cunha, with a letter telling him not to go any further, but to remain where he was in Divarij, and to permit none of Timoja's men to pass from the other side of the mainland until he had received fresh and more definite news of the army of the Hidalcão. And after having thus dispatched the Canarese messenger, Afonso Dalboquerque sent Diogo Fernandez as a guide,[2] with twelve mounted soldiers and

[1] *Banda*. 15 deg. 48 min. N., 73 deg. 53 min. E, near Goa.

[2] *Adail*; a Portugese word derived from the Arabic *ad-dalil*, guide or leader, according to Dozys Englemann. Bluteau derives from *dalid*, "dux viæ" or "mostrador", and says:—

"O officio do Adail he mostrar, quando marcha o exercito, o caminho, não já publico, & manifesto, mas encuberto & não trilhado . . . Tocava ao Adail governor os Almocadens, & Almogavares, & a mais gente com que se fazião cavalgadas nas terras inimigas, & ter conhecimento da campanha, para levar com segurança as tropas."

Mirale[1] with him in command of a thousand Canarese peons, to pass over to the mainland, and see if they could come upon any interpreter who might give them any news of the coming of the Hidalcão.

Thereupon Diogo Fernandez set out, and without being perceived passed by night over to the mainland, and progressing in this manner, in the depth of the darkness he came up with the vanguard of the Hidalcão's army so suddenly that he was utterly routed, and just managed to escape on his horse, leaving behind him many of the native peons who were unable to save themselves, so that when he reached the city again not more than five hundred peons and the horsemen whom he had taken with him, accompanied him. And he related to Afonso Dalboquerque all that had taken place, telling him that he had been thoroughly discomfited and only saved himself by a miracle, and that the army of the Hidalcão was very large, and, in his opinion, the host was facing towards the quarter of Benastarim, with the intention of establishing their camp there.

Hereupon Afonso Dalboquerque, relying upon the relation that Diogo Fernandez had given him with regard to the approach of the Hidalcão, called all the captains together and earnestly desired them, seeing that this news was in every way trustworthy, to go armed every one of them, and keep their men in close quarters in order that they might be ready to rally wherever it should be necessary, if any assault should be attempted. And he sent word by a messenger to Jorge de Cunha that he was to return to the city. And at this very juncture there arrived a runner from Bersoré, King of Garçopa, bringing a letter for Afonso Dalboquerque, wherein was related that the King of Narsinga had written to him, King Bersoré, that the Hidalcão had sent to him a messenger to complain of the Hindoos (and chiefly of Timoja), who were his subjects, because they had assisted

[1] *Mir-Ali.*

the Portuguese to take Goa from him, and if this had not been done in accordance with his views, he begged him, the King of Narsinga, to help him to regain possession of that place; and that the King of Narsinga had replied that it was forty years since the Moors of Decan had taken from him the kingdom of Goa, and now it gratified him very much to see that it was in the power of the King of Portugal, whose brother and friend he had now become; and as for the assistance that he asked for retaking the city, he intended to give it, on the contrary, to the Portuguese for defending the place. And in the same letter the King of Garçopa sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque that he, too, was ready with his own body and all the resources of his kingdom to serve him against the Hidalcão whenever it was necessary, because he was very desirous of forming an alliance with him.

Afonso Dalboquerque despatched his messenger back, sending by him a letter in reply to the King of Garçopa, proffering him many thanks for the offers of assistance which he had made, and telling him that he would write to the King of Narsinga to get himself ready to fight the Hidalcão, and therefore he had not touched upon any matters concerning the latter, as contained in his present letter; but he had made up his mind to send him a messenger who would tell him all about the proceedings by word of mouth.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, immediately upon hearing this news, provided the strongholds of the island with men and captains, and ordered the trial of the Xabandar, on account of the evil report he had of him, and further doings.

No sooner was this interview concluded that the great Afonso Dalboquerque held with his captains concerning the

approach of the Hidalcão, than he remounted upon his horse, with as many people as he could gather together, and made an inspection of all the passes of the island, in order to provide them with everything that was required. And in Benastarim he placed Garcia de Sousa with a hundred Portuguese soldiers, and six horse-soldiers, and four pieces of artillery and gunners to man them, and impressed strongly upon him the need of taking care to cause them to search everybody who passed over to the mainland, lest they carried with them any letters of advice from the Moors in Goa to those in the camp of the Hidalcão; and thence he proceeded to Old Goa, and therein he placed Jorge da Cunha with sixty cavalry soldiers, under orders to hasten to the defence of the other passes if need should arise; and at the pass of Augij he stationed Timoja's cousin and Mirale, with his own company; and at that of Gondalij he placed Francisco Perein and Francisco de Sousa Mancias, with a thousand native soldiers; and in the dry pass he left Jorge Fogaça, with twenty of our men and twenty native soldiers; and in that of Agacij D. Jeronymo de Lima, with forty Portuguese soldiers and a number of natives. And in every one of these passes there were towers which had been constructed at the time when the Kings of Narsinga were in possession of Goa, Afonso Dalboquerque therefore ordered that the captains should be supplied with artillery, gunpowder, and gunners, for their defence in case the Hidalcão's men should shew any signs of attacking them; and that the boats of the ships should be kept close at hand in order to be able to take refuge in them if it were necessary.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque had arranged all those affairs in order, he betook himself again to the city, and ordered D. Antonio de Noronha to get ready the boats, galleys, *parãos*, and some small vessels, with men and guns, to pass up the river, visiting all these passes and reinforcing our men that were stationed in them. And while he was yet on

the shore, ordering the disposition of all this fleet, Dinis Fernandez, the chief surveyor of the Navy, came up to him and told him that the *Xabandar* of the coast had despatched sundry *paráos* up along the river; and because he thought this was wrong and the crisis caused one to be very suspicious, he had told him not to send any *paráos* up, but down the river, towards the bar, whither already on occasions they had gone for necessary stores, but the *Xabandar* would not do so. Then Afonso Dalboquerque sent for the *Xabandar*, and asked him why he was sending the *paráos* up along the river, since he knew that the Hidalcão was posted there with a great force, intending to force an entry into the city; and the *Xabandar* replied that he did not know of the coming of the Hidalcão, and though he had sent the *paráos* up, it was in order that they should bring back stores required for the provisioning of the city, according to the instructions which had been given to him. But as the excuse was not a good one, and Afonso Dalboquerque had reason to suspect him, that he was sending the *paráos* to give a passage to the men under the command of the Hidalcão, he ordered his halbardiers to put him to death and throw his body into the river.

When D. Antonio had set out with the fleet which was ready by this time, a message was brought for him from Garcia de Sousa, stating that the Hidalcão had already arrived with all his men, and that he had pitched his camp before Benastarim, and, according to appearances, it was a very numerous force.

At the receipt of this intelligence Afonso Dalboquerque got on his horse, accompanied by all his captains and some people on foot, and made his way to Benastarim, and when he arrived, there was the Hidalcão already withdrawn with all his forces behind a hill, for Garcia de Sousa had killed some of them with his artillery. And in this spot where the Hidalcão had pitched his camp there stood a mosque

and some houses in which the Moors could obtain shelter from the artillery of the fortress; so, for this reason, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered Garcia de Sousa to take the men that were under his command along with him, and burn the houses and throw down the mosque; and Garcia passed over from the other side and destroyed everything, and set fire to the mosque, and as it was all by the waterside he returned to his quarters again without suffering any injury at the hands of the Moors.

As soon as Garcia de Sousa had returned, Afonso Dalboquerque mounted again on horseback and proceeded with his inspection of all the passes where the captains were stationed, instructing them how they were to act; and then he returned to the city to see to the disposition of its fortifications and everything else that was necessary for the defence of the fortress and the city in case the Hidalcão should enter into the island. And when he was passing through the dry pass, Jorge Fogaça, who was stationed there as captain in command, delivered over to him a young man who had fled that morning from the camp of the Hidalcão. This young man was a Christian, a native of Crete, who had been captured by Camalo, a captain of the Turk, and a merchant had bought him with many others, and carried them to the kingdom of Decan, and given them to the old Çabaio. But as he was a Christian, and knew that they also were Christians who were there in Goa, he had fled away and betaken himself to them, and two others also had accompanied him in his flight, but he knew not what had become of them. And he gave much information concerning the camp of the Hidalcão and of the great numbers of men he had in it, and how he had fixed his determination to enter into the island by force. And two days afterwards the other two young men arrived; one of them was an Albanian and the other came from Russia.

CHAPTER XXIX.

How the Hidalcão sent João Machado, and a Venetian, who were with him, having turned Moors, with a message to the great Afonso Dalboquerque, desiring him to quit Goa, and of the reply he gave them.

As soon as the Hidalcão had pitched his camp, it occurred to him that when the great Afonso Dalboquerque knew the power of the army which he had raised, he would surrender Goa to him without any more armed opposition; in order, therefore, to sound his intentions, he sent him a message by means of a Portuguese and a Venetian, who were with him, having turned Moors. These men came up by night in an *almadia* to the pass of Agacij, whereof D. Jeronymo was the captain, and declared to him that they were the bearers of a message from the Hidalcão to the Captain-General of India, and they had been desired to demand a safe conduct for both of them, and a man who should remain in the camp as a hostage, in order that they might go and speak with his Lordship; and it might so turn out, they said, that their mission would prove very advantageous to all.

D. Jeronymo sent word immediately to Afonso Dalboquerque, relating all that had happened; and as he was very anxious to know who the Portuguese man was that had brought this message, he sent back a safe conduct at once for him, and appointed Baldrez to be lodged in the enemy's camp as a hostage; for this latter was very well versed in the native language, and on this account he was advised to listen to the deliberations and intentions of the Moors, yet not allow them to find out that he could speak any other language than Portuguese. When Baldrez had reached the camp, and the safe conduct come to hand, D. Jeronymo sent the Portuguese and the Venetian in his boat, and

these two came up in it to the fortress on the first day of May, by night; and, in order that they should not enter into the fortress, Afonso Dalboquerque came down and waited for them at the gate which looked out on to the river, and when they arrived he enquired of them who they were. The Portuguese replied, that his companion was by nation a Venetian, who had been for a long time in the service of the Hidalcão, but he himself was called João Machado, and had come from Portugal in disgrace, in the fleet of Pedralvarez Cabral, and remained behind at Melinde, and from that place had passed over to the kingdom of Cambaya; but, as the King gave him very small wages, he had made his way to the kingdom of Decan and taken service, as a means of support, under the Çabayo, father of the Hidalcão. Yet, he said, for all that he had walked in such crooked ways, as his Lordship now perceived by this narrative, he had still retained his Christian religion, and believed truly that by Jesus Christ and by His Death and Passion he should be saved: and, although he had undertaken to deliver the message of the Hidalcão which he was now bringing, it really was in order to give him, Afonso Dalboquerque, certain information, and to tell him the truth concerning the enemy's army in whose company he had come to Goa.

Then Afonso Dalboquerque enquired of him if he desired to speak with him in private or in the presence of all who were there assembled. The Portuguese replied, that he would be glad to speak with him in private; and so Afonso Dalboquerque withdrew and took him aside, and João Machado told him that the Hidalcão was very desirous of obtaining his alliance, on account of the great name which he had acquired among the Moors, and that he was not surprised at the fall of Goa because he knew for certain that Timojá had intrigued with the Hindoos of the land to deliver up the city to the Portuguese, but that the Hidalcão now begged him earnestly to surrender the island and the lands of Goa, and

in exchange he would give him another place of his own on the sea-coast, whichever he selected, wherein to erect a fortress: but if he, Afonso, were unwilling to carry out this that was asked of him, he was to know for a surety that the Hidalcão would on no consideration quit his military position until he had cast him out of the city, for the whole future of the State depended on this issue. And, he continued, since the Hidalcão was thus determined, his lordship, Afonso Dalboquerque, ought to take some means to arrange matters with him, for he was a young and powerful lord, anxious to obtain honourable reputation, and at the head of a numerous body of men of high caste who were highly esteemed and feared in these parts, and by whose means he had obtained the mastery over a large part of that kingdom, and of the other class of natives he could have as many as he required. And João Machado went on to say that he would advise Afonso Dalboquerque by no manner of means to repose any confidence in the inhabitants of Goa city, for they were ripe for revolution, and as soon as they should see four Moors from the camp get into the island they would all rise up at once against him, seeing that not a day passed that the Hidalcão did not receive letters from the Moors of the city, advising him to force an entry, that they were devoted to his cause, and ready to sacrifice their lives for him; but rather that he, Afonso Dalboquerque, should give orders for watching all the passes of the island, for he should know of a certainty that, wherever there was the most carelessness, at that place the Hidalcão would be sure to enter. And, he added, truly it appeared to him that Afonso Dalboquerque was not sufficiently strong to prevent the Hidalcão's entry into the island,—although that he did not say this as one who sided with that prince's army, but because it was his firm conviction; and he trusted in God that he might soon get back to Portugal and see the King D. Manuel, and give him a long account of the affairs of that land.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied, that he was much obliged to him for the good will he had shewn, and the advice he had given, and that he hoped it would please God to give him such knowledge of the truth that he might ultimately obtain true salvation,—and he was to carry back to the Hidalcão this reply, that he, Afonso Dalboquerque, had not taken Goa merely to lose it again, for Goa could only belong to him who had also the dominion of the sea, namely, the King D. Manuel, his Lord; but he would be very glad to come to terms of peace with him, seeing that hereby not only would the Hidalcão increase the stability of his own position, but he also would infuse great terror among the neighbouring states,—and this advice he gave as a man of sixty years of age and well experienced in arms, to him who was but a young man and badly advised. And, he continued, if the Hidalcão placed any reliance on his hopes of succour from the Grand Sultan, he had greatly erred, for the rout that D. Francisco Dalmeida[1] had inflicted upon the Rumes had been so thorough, that they could not be able to rally to his assistance at that juncture; but he begged the Hidalcão to be sensible enough to raise the siege and take himself off, and surrender Dabul, wherein he, Afonso, might erect a fortress, and on these conditions peace should be made, but if the Hidalcão did not choose to carry out all that had been laid down, it was no use talking any more in concert, for this would always be the ultimate answer that he would give him.

Then João Machado replied, that he was very much concerned at seeing affairs in such a desperate crisis that they could not be arranged, for the Hidalcão would certainly not agree to this settlement, because he would never give up a portion of his kingdom according to this proposal. And with this reply he took his departure, and Afonso Dalboquerque made him a present of sixty *cruzados*, and to the

[1] See note, page 112.

Venetian he gave forty, and so they returned in the same boat which had brought them, and on arriving at the camp they delivered the reply which they took back to Hidalcão; and he, on his part, sent Baldrez back again, telling him to say to Afonso Dalboquerque that he was much surprised at the rejection of the terms that had been offered to him, but he would promise him, before many days were passed, that he would be sorry for the message that he had sent. As soon as Baldrez arrived, he narrated to Afonso Dalboquerque the sayings of the Hidalcão, and told him how in the camp there were a numerous body of soldiers, both infantry and cavalry, and they were making ready large quantities of rafts, and fascines, in order to pass over thereby to the island; but the Turks, whose wives and families were in Goa, were unwilling that the Hidalcão should make any agreement with him, for they were all prepared to die or become again lords of Goa, and all that they talked about was that the attempt to regain the possession of the city might cost them a million of men.

CHAPTER XXX.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque gave an account to Timoja of the message which João Machado had brought from the Hidalcão to him, and of further proceedings thereupon.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque, in this interview which he held with João Machado and the Venetian, became very much alarmed on account of what he was informed with regard to the Moors of Goa, although the information was not clearly expressed. And, in order to arrive at some determination in respect to his future actions in this matter, he sent for Timoja and narrated to him the message which he had received from the Hidalcão, and the reply which he had given. And after some conversation upon these sub-

jects, he told Timoja that information had been given to the effect that certain of the chief Moors of the city were engaged in correspondence with the Hidalcão, and had communications with the Rumes who were in his camp, therefore he desired him to give him the benefit of his advice as a friend, as to the manner in which he ought to act in order to prevent this fire from bursting out into a flame.

Timoja replied, that he had now for some days ceased to repose any confidence in the Moors, because he had always considered that they were angry at beholding the city in the power of the Portuguese; and his advice would be, that Afonso Dalboquerque should order all the principal headmen, not only Moors, but Hindoos as well, to be collected together in the fortress, for in such times as these one ought not to confide in either the one or the other. Then Afonso Dalboquerque replied—for it was in order to get this advice out of Timoja that he had intentionally asked him this question—that he was very much indebted to him for such advice, and since his opinion was such, he, Timoja, as he was then governor, should be the first, in order to avoid disaffection among the one or the other, to take his wife and children to the fortress; for when the Moors and Hindoos should behold so important a man as he was, and one in possession of so much authority, performing this without any reluctance, he would be able to command every one else to do the same.

And although Timoja was now very sorry for the advice he had given, yet because he was the originator of this proposal, he was constrained to send off at once for his wife and a son whom he had, and placed them in the fortress. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque had the wife of Timoja there in his power, he summoned a meeting of the principal Moors and Hindoos who governed the land, and told them to gather together all the noble Moors and Hindoos, as well of the island as those who lived in Old Goa, and to command

them, on their own responsibility, to come on the following day with their wives and families to take up their abode in the fortress; for he was afraid lest they should receive serious injuries and efforts from the Turks, in case the Hidalcão should gain an entry into the island. In pursuance of this order, when the Moors and Hindoos knew that the wife and son of Timoja were already in the castle, they proceeded immediately to take up their quarters within it with their wives and families, although they were very much annoyed at this edict issued by Afonso Dalboquerque. And when these had been settled in their places, Afonso Dalboquerque issued similar orders for the gathering together of the women and children of the Turks who were engaged in the camp of the Hidalcão, and then sent word to them there in the camp, that unless within the space of six days they returned to the city, he would sell their wives and families into slavery, and they themselves should lose all their property.

Afonso Dalboquerque acted in this manner because he had given these Turks an assurance, which it will be remembered they had sent to demand of him, in order that they should come to him in safety; and he was thus compelled to keep to his word, and send notice first of all to them about his intention. But the Rumes, who were similarly employed in the camp of the Hidalcão, had no assurance of a like nature from Afonso Dalboquerque, so he ordered that their wives and children should be taken for slaves, being determined to make a terrible example of them, in order that throughout the whole of the land the people should observe the hatred which the Portuguese had to the people of the Grand Sultan of Cairo, so that no one of the rulers of India might dare to harbour them in their ports and villages.

And Afonso Dalboquerque ordered a large quantity of timber to be carried with the utmost despatch to Garcia de

Sousa, with the object of erecting a very strong stockade on the side towards the city, for he no longer placed any reliance upon the Moors of the city, and he feared lest they should gain an entrance into Benastarim by forcing themselves through the lines at that place; and Garcia de Sousa lost no time in building the stockade, and placed in it two large guns which had been sent expressly for that purpose by Afonso Dalboquerque, and a quantity of smaller artillery, and appointed Garcia's brother, Duarte de Sousa, to be captain of it, with a body of men under him to keep watch over the movements of the Moors who were in the city.

But when Afonso Dalboquerque was informed that the Hidalcão was determined to storm the island at the pass of Augij, where Timoja's men were stationed—who sometimes were inclined to desert the pass and go away—he told the chief to make ready four hundred of those men that had accompanied Jorge da Cunha, and then he sent them to the pass of Augij, where the other men were, and then without giving Timoja any explanation of his so doing he placed over them as captain an ambassador of the King of Onor, who happened to be with him, and in whom he reposed great confidence because he was one of the most illustrious men there, and a cavalier. And thus Afonso Dalboquerque, having provided all the passes with everything that they required, remained besieged for about the space of a month, sometimes being attacked by the Turks in many parts, in order that they might get into the island. But our men defended themselves very valiantly, and slew several of the Hidalcão's men in these engagements.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Of the message which Garcia de Sousa sent from Benastarim to the great Afonso Dalboquerque; and how the latter made an inspection of the passes of the island, and further doings.

While the passes of the island were in the state which I have described, a native peon arrived with a letter from Garcia de Sousa for the great Afonso Dalboquerque; wherein he informed him that the people who composed the besieging force of the Hidalcão were very numerous, and fresh supplies of men were coming up to swell its numbers every day; and that the soldiers who were on guard at the passes were very few, and although he had some native troops with him it was not right for him to put any trust in them, seeing that if they could turn traitors to their own fellow countrymen and their own sects, as they had done, they would be much more likely also to act in a similar manner towards the Christians: and that since they had not sufficient forces wherewith to withstand the Hidalcão's entry into the island, he was of opinion that his Lordship ought to order all who were engaged in defending the passes to withdraw into the fortress, in order that by fortifying themselves in it very strongly with barricades they might successfully oppose the power of the Hidalcão, who was coming against them; and that the fleet which was stationed in the river was sufficient for defending their passage and covering their re-embarkation, and thus everything would be arranged in a secure position.

Afonso Dalboquerque had become by this time so much irritated by the repeated importunities of his captains, that it was only his indomitable spirit which enabled him to bear up against the troubles which they continually brought upon him; so he sent back word in reply to Garcia de Sousa that he must keep good guard at Benastarim, which

had been apportioned to his charge, and leave the management of affairs to him; for he had made up his mind to defend the island, yea, and the interior country also, if he thought necessary; and that there was no cause for alarm, because he relied upon the mercy of God to put his enemies to flight, seeing that he himself possessed sufficient bravery and confidence for every emergency. And together with this reply Alfonso Dalboquerque sent him a large gun to be placed in the stockade on the side where the Hidalcão had pitched his camp, and with the help of this he inflicted serious injuries upon the enemy.

At this juncture of events Diogo Fernandez de Béja returned with his fleet, that Afonso Dalboquerque had sent to Condal to act in concert with Jorge da Cunha, and related to him how all the land was full of the Hidalcão's soldiers; and, as he had no intelligence of Jorge da Cunha, he had made his way back because he thought his services might be required at Goa; and that in issuing out of the river many Moors came down against them and shot at them with matchlocks and arrows. Without any delay, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered him to sail up the river again immediately, with all his fleet, and co-operate with D. Antonio de Noronha in defending the passage against the Moors who were bent upon crossing over to the island.

And having arranged this matter, Afonso Dalboquerque mounted his horse, and accompanied by several people, both on horse and on foot, made his way immediately towards Old Goa, where Jorge da Cunha was stationed, carrying with him Melique Çufecondal whom he had met with on the road; and after having remained with him for some space of time he bade him look well to the guarding of that pass; and then he left and went on to the pass of Agacij, where on the water there were D. Antonio, Fernão Perez Dandrade, Luis Coutinho, Bernaldim Freire, and a large number of others with them, for there at that pass the

Hidalcão had stationed the greater part of his host. And when he took leave of these, he told them that he hoped they would of their goodness take care to keep strict watch and keep off the Moors from their attempts to cross over the river, for upon this the safety of everyone depended. And then he went on his progress to Benastarim, and stayed some time there conversing with Garcia de Sousa; and in the course of his interview he told him how on the road he had been informed by some Moors that Melique Çufecondal had entered upon an understanding with the Hidalcão, to the end the latter should attack all the passes of the island in the rafts and *parãos* that he could avail himself of, while the former was to rise up with all his men and put Jorge da Cunha and his companions to death, and as soon as these were dead to overrun all the stockades and get everything into their own hands, and therefore it was that he, Afonso Dalboquerque, was taking him unsuspectingly back with him to Goa to chastise him.

Garcia de Sousa told Afonso Dalboquerque that he was continually in dread of the people of the land, for they were all of the same mind as Melique Çufecondal; and that although his lordship had taken it in bad part that he had sent to remind him that the Christians were very few and the Moors many, yet he would assure him that through this pass that he had to defend none of the soldiers of the Hidalção would enter whether he had many or few in his company. Afonso Dalboquerque told him that of a truth his intentions had been quite misunderstood; but that it was owing to the great confidence that he reposed in his person, and in the strength of his cavalry, that he had entrusted him with the command at Benastarim, which was the principal pass of that island of Goa.

And then, after staying a little while in conversation with him, Afonso Dalboquerque got again on his horse, and proceeded with his visit to all the other passes, and arrived at

the city again when it was already night. And then he sent for Gaspar de Paiva, chief alcaide of the fortress, and to him he gave charge of Melique Çufe[condal] to keep in safe custody with the others, at which Melique Çufe[condal] became very much surprised, for he never had the least suspicion that he had been brought back a prisoner. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque had returned to the city, Timoja told him that Mandaloi, Lord of Condal, had written him a letter, wherein he stated that as soon as he knew that the Hidalcão had come down against Goa with his host, he had gathered together four thousand men and overrun all the mountain passes, and captured from him the supplies that were proceeding to the camp, and that he was encamped at three leagues' distance from the Hidalcão, and if he, Timoja, would send word on what day he intended to fall upon the Hidalcão, he, Mandaloi, at the same moment would attack the camp with his men, for he felt it his duty to put himself in all things completely under the orders of the Portuguese. Afonso Dalboquerque told Timoja to write in reply that he owed him many thanks for his message, and he hoped to God that he should some day be able to repay him for the good intentions he had expressed of acting for the service of the King of Portugal, by making him lord of the lands of the Hidalcão in the name of the King; but that for the present he must keep quiet, and when the moment arrived he would send him word what he would have him do.

CHAPTER XXXII.

How the Hidalcão entered the island of Goa through the pass of Agacij, and proceeded to attack the city; and the great Afonso Dalboquerque retired to the castle with all his men, and what took place in continuation.

By this time the great Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that the Hidalcão was determined to enter into the Island of

Goa against him, without being deterred by any fear of the fleet that was riding in the river with its large number of soldiers and its artillery; yet he felt sure that this enterprise would never have been attempted had it not been that the Hidalcão was induced so to act by the intelligence which the Moors of the city had conveyed to him, according to the information which João Machado had given him. And as he had now some suspicion of certain native Moors of noble race, who were in correspondence with some of their relatives in the Hidalcão's camp, as soon as he arrived at the city he gave orders that they should be punished according to their deserts. And being very anxious about the security of the pass of Augij, on account of his suspicions concerning the men commanded by Timoja, he gave orders to his nephew, D. Antonio de Noronha, who was chief captain of the fleet in the river, to take up his station at that pass and keep very close watch over it.

The Hidalcão had by this time prepared his rafts, and on a Friday, the seventeenth day of May [A.D. 1510], there was a great and stormy sea running, for it was the winter season, when he gave orders to three hundred Turks to pass over from the mainland to the island by the pass of Augij. And because the tempest was at a great height, and the darkness of the night was very intense, D. Antonio failed to take care that the galleys should be ordered to stand well in to the shore, and thus the Turks had time to get across without being perceived, and then returned immediately on the same rafts and on others which they had already prepared for the occasion, and seven hundred Turks embarked on them and began to pass over. But as by this time the day was beginning to break, three of our boats, which were stationed close in towards the land, perceived them and signalled to D. Antonio, who immediately came up with all the ships, and with well-directed shot from his guns broke all the rafts to pieces and put all

the Turks to the sword, so that none escaped except three who fled away.

The Hidalcão felt the death of these Turks on account of the great expenses he had been at to gather them together in his dominions. And while D. Antonio was engaged with his men slaying these Turks, a second party, to the number of two thousand, began to cross over from the other side through some lagoons of weed, all of them covered with mud, without being observed by the Portuguese, who were intently occupied with their own work; but Menaique, the captain of Timoja, who was stationed at Old Goa in company with Jorge da Cunha, caught sight of the Turks, when already a great part of them had got over, and proceeded on horseback to attack them with two hundred native peons who desired to follow him; the Turks, however, did not attempt to move, and Menaique, having come up with them, fell upon them in their van, and before they could free themselves from the mud, put thirty or forty of them to death. And when they began to rally and form in close ranks, and he saw that Jorge da Cunha rendered him very little support, he withdrew with his men and returned to Goa, taking with him the heads of those whom he had put to death.

Timoja's men, who had been placed at the pass, no sooner saw the Turks, than they went and united with them, and then all ran together in one body to Benastarim, where Garcia de Sousa held his position, and stormed the stockades and captured the great gun[1] that was therein, and some smaller guns[2], and put to death his brother[3] and four or five men, and set fire to the stockades. As soon as Garcia de Sousa perceived that he had no chance of resisting the Turks, he withdrew into a *parão* that was ready at hand and retired to Goa. Then Francisco de Sousa Mancias and Francisco Pereira Coutinho, who were on guard over the

[1] *Camelo.* [2] *Berços.* [3] Duarte de Sousa. See p. 150.

pass of Gondalij, retired from the tower at the approach of the Turks, leaving four guns[1] behind them, and took refuge in a boat at some stairs and came down into the city. And when Jorge da Cunha saw that our people were put to rout, and that the Turks had at length forced an entry into the island at many places, he began to withdraw with his mounted men, now very much in disorder, and three horsemen were killed.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque became aware that Jorge da Cunha was coming on with great difficulty, he sent Diogo Fernandez, the *Adail*,[2] with twenty horsemen and fifty rank and file, to go to his assistance and rally the party, which action he performed on that day like a very valiant cavalier as he was; for on this occasion, and in every other in which he was employed, he was always able to give a very good account of himself. And after that Diogo Fernandez had started off, Afonso Dalboquerque took horse, and went down to the market square with fifty armed men, in order to see if he could quiet the great demonstrations of joy which the Moors were making after the Turks had entered the island. And the Moors, like men who now had become thoroughly roused, no sooner caught sight of Afonso Dalboquerque, than they went up to attack him. And he, in order to more thoroughly prevail against them that were no longer awed by his presence, ordered fire to be set to the city in four places; and then, leading the people he had with him, he fell upon the enemy, and put to the sword every one of them that he found in the streets, without giving quarter to any one: and after having thus inflicted a very severe chastisement upon the Hidalcão's army, he began to pass along through the whole length of the city with all his people; and while he was thus passing along through one of the streets he caught sight of Timoja, who was also in progress of withdrawing, being hard pressed by certain

[1] *Bombardos.* [2] See page 137, note 2.

Turks who were coming along in close quarters with him; and as soon as he saw them he charged down upon them, and so put them to discomfiture that they retreated.

And if it had not so happened that Afonso Dalboquerque had been there at that moment, Timoja, and some of his captains who were with him, would have lost their lives, and this would have afforded more satisfaction to the Hidalcão than the taking of the city. By this time, so numerous were the Moors of the Hidalcão's host that had penetrated into the city, that it was imperatively necessary for Afonso Dalboquerque to withdraw with all his army into the fortress, for there were already thirty of our men dead and many wounded. And as it was, this affair did not cost the Hidalcão so little as he suspected, seeing that upwards of two thousand of his men lay stretched out dead up and down the streets.

When Afonso Dalboquerque had entered into the fortress he found our people so full of fear at the enormous numbers whom the Hidalcão brought with him, that he began to encourage them, and on the following day, in the course of the morning, D. Antonio de Noronha arrived in the galleys and boats which he had under his command in the river, and his arrival infused a little courage into our people. And forthwith Afonso Dalboquerque despatched Jorge da Cunha with two hundred men in the boats to make for the shore and set fire to the ships that were drawn up in the dockyards, and to burn the magazine: but seeing that many Moors ran up in defence of the shore, Jorge da Cunha could not set fire to more than four, and to the magazine building, wherein were burned large stores of cordage, and all the dockyard apparatus, and then he returned. And on the next day, during the morning, the Hidalcão made his entry with all the men of his host into the city, with so much shouting and blowing of trumpets, that it was enough to terrify every one who heard it.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque determined to fortify himself in the fortress and maintain it; and of what passed with the captains thereupon; and of the message which the Hidalcão sent through João Machado, and what happened afterwards.

Directly that the great Afonso Dalboquerque had withdrawn with all his forces to the fortress, he commanded the captains to take up their positions in stockades on the wall, with the intention of fortifying himself therein and defending himself from the Hidalcão until he could get reinforcements from Cochim, for which he had determined to send. And in order to make up his mind thoroughly as to what course of action he should pursue, he called a meeting of the captains and told them that now that the Hidalcão had made good his entrance into the island and was now in possession of the city, owing to every one's fault, a good opportunity presented itself for them to retrieve the loss they had sustained by reason of the carelessness they had shewn in the matter, in maintaining this fortress. For in addition to its great natural strength, —it would not yield even to Rhodes itself in that respect,— there were therein a thousand Portuguese, against whom, if they defended themselves valiantly, all the power that the Hidalcão could possibly bring to bear would not be sufficient to force an entry, and meanwhile he would send for assistance from Cochim.

To these representations the captains replied, that the reason why the Hidalcão had been able to effect an entry into the island and take possession of the city was not the want of forces on their part nor any carelessness of which they had been guilty, but simply because the Moors were so numerous, and they themselves so few. And as for their desiring to defend the fortress and maintain it against the enemy, he ought not, they declared, to think any more of

such a thing, because they were not sufficiently powerful to be able to ward off from themselves the attacks which the forces of the Hidalcão there stationed could make upon it; but he ought to withdraw to the ships and at any rate secure his fleet, for in this lay the safety of the whole of their Indian possessions. And this was the expressed opinion of all the captains, with the exception of D. Antonio de Noronha, and Gaspar de Paiva, chief *Alcaide* of the fortress, who, indeed, declared that Afonso Dalboquerque ought not to leave the fortress but rather secure it, and maintain their position therein, until they could ascertain the intentions of the Hidalcão, for they had the river behind them and could thereby make good their retreat whenever they so desired, without any risk of disaster.

But Afonso Dalboquerque, who was determined to fortify himself in the fortress and maintain it, would not give any opinion upon the state of affairs, and left the business in this state without arriving at any conclusion, and said that the remainder of the captains who were not then present must first of all come and then he would arrange what was needful to be carried out. The captains were, however, so dejected that they could not rest contented with this deferring of action, and each one by himself made his way to Afonso Dalboquerque, and requested him by various arguments to withdraw to the ships and give up possession of the fortress; but he always temporised with them, until at length one day all assembled in preconcerted union and told him he must withdraw because there was no longer any use in any further waiting, and if it should be that he were unwilling to do so, they at least were determined to retire and leave him.

Thereupon, Afonso Dalboquerque, who was afraid lest the fear which had fallen upon them should lead them into some fatal error, ordered D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, to proceed to the gate of the fortress that opened

out on the riverside, and prevent any one from going out that way, or stirring forth thence, until he should see him in person, or receive a certain signal which had been arranged between them. And now finding himself surrounded by so much trouble, that in order to maintain possession of the fortress he was compelled to guard it from the Moors and from the Christians alike; ar at the Hidalcão would become acquainted with the disse sions that were rife in their ranks by obtaining the information of two foreigners of the fleet, who had the day before cast in their lot with him; and that all of them would have to withdraw from their positions upon the wall at the instant of any serious attack, Afonso Dalboquerque came to a determination of his own accord to take refuge in the ships, in order that the artillery should not be lost that was on shore. To this end he dispatched Manuel Fragoso in a *fusta* privately by night to reconnoitre the state of the river, because he had received intelligence that the Moors had scuttled two ships of Malabar, laden with stone, in the bend which the river forms just below the docks, in order to stop up the passage, for that was the narrowest part of the course.

And when Manuel Fragoso had set out, Jorge da Cunha sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque that João Machado had arrived at his station, and brought him news that he desired another interview with Afonso Dalboquerque, who therefore enquired of the captains what he should do; and every one of them gave it as their opinion that he ought not to grant him any interview, for the suitable time for negotiating was now gone by, and all that they ought now to do was to re-embark. Nevertheless, Afonso Dalboquerque, at the last moment, said he would speak with this man, for he would not venture to go very far with the advice the captains gave; yet in order that João Machado should not perceive the disordered and disconcerted state in which our party were, he would not allow him to enter

the fortress, but told Antonio da Costa to proceed with his boat and fetch the man and bring him to the galley of Simão Dandrade, while he himself got upon his horse and made his way as far as the gate of the city where the galley was stationed. And while he was there, João Machado arrived, when it was now the dead of night, and told him that he, for his part, had always been desirous that his lordship should come to some settlement with the Hidalcão, and that he could easily see that affairs were going very contrary to the way he should like them to go; and that since things were so, and his lordship could not hold the island against the power of the Hidalcão, much less could he defend the fortress, for in the Hidalcão's camp there was a large number of men and many military appliances ready to attack it; and so he went on alleging many other reasons in support of his argument. And while Afonso Dalboquerque stood thus conversing with João Machado, Francisco de Sousa Mancias came up, and speaking inopportunely asked what he should do, for the Moors were getting an entrance into the fortress, and the captains had sent him to beg that he, Afonso Dalboquerque, would re-embark, for if he would not consent to do so, they would quit their appointed stations.

This, that was thus said in the presence of João Machado, to whom Afonso Dalboquerque was, as it were, selling himself, and was evidently so contrary to the show of power which he was making, and so astonished him, that he sprang up in a passion and said to Francisco de Sousa Mancias:—"How is it, Francisco de Sousa, that you are so desirous of handing over this fortress to the Turks? Go, then, and give it up to them; and do as you wish." And then Francisco de Sousa, whose only anxiety was to extricate himself from the perils in which he found himself involved, made his way to D. Antonio de Noronha, and on coming before him said that his uncle had ordered that he was to surrender

the fortress and withdraw. And thereupon D. Antonio, forgetting the orders his uncle had given him [concerning the appointed signal], and relying solely upon the words that Francisco de Sousa said, ordered his men immediately to set fire to one of the arsenals. And while the news was running through the station where the Portuguese forces were posted, our men came down in a confused mass to the gate on the waterside, with the intention of re-embarking. Afonso Dalboquerque heard the noise our men made, and thinking that it was caused by the Moors, because it was night, took his leave of João Machado, and got into a boat and made his way to the waterside gate, and there found the confused body of men who were crowding down to the banks with the object of betaking themselves to the ships; but he made them retrace their steps and dissembled his anger, for D. Antonio Noronha, his nephew, was more to blame in what he had done, than was Francisco de Sousa in what he had said. And when this was over, Manuel Fragoso returned from his mission to reconnoitre, and brought word that the Moors had sunk a Malabar ship laden with stone in the bed of the river, and the water which came down from the mountains had such force, and ran down with so great a fury, that it had broken out a new bed in another part much further up.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque quitted the fortress and proceeded to embark; and how the Fidalcão entered it, and what he performed.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque now perceiving that there was no remedy for these things, and being displeased at the vacillation of his captains, and convinced that they ought not to abandon the fortress without at least making an

attempt worthy of its importance to hold it, made up his mind to withdraw to the ships, and commanded D. Antonio de Noronha to superintend the re-embarkation of all the artillery, not only our own but also that of the Moors which had been captured, and all the stores that could be collected, and the women and the children and merchants who were lodged in the fortress. And when everything had been collected, Afonso Dalboquerque commanded Gaspar de Paiva, chief *alcaide* of the city, to proceed to the fortress and order his men to cut off the heads of Melique Çufecondal and of a hundred and fifty principal Moors of the city, who had been detained therein in consequence of information which João Machado had given him, and to hamstring all the horses that were in the stables, and to set fire to the arsenals, wherein everything was consumed by fire that could be of any service to the Moors.

When this business was over, Afonso Dalboquerque gave word to his captains for each one to retire with his own men, for he intended himself to be the last of all. And our men were so anxious to see themselves out of the dangerous position that they then occupied, that they made such a great hurry and fell into such disorder in carrying out the order for re-embarking that, had it been done by day, any of the enemy's people who came up could have routed them. And when every one had quitted the shore, Afonso Dalboquerque betook himself to the ships on a Friday before daybreak, on the twentieth day of the month of May, in the year '10, and immediately ordered the whole fleet to set sail, and stood down the river in front of the fortress of Pangij, because there the river is wider, and there they would be safe from any accident befalling them, —with the intention of waiting there until the water of the bar deepened sufficiently to allow the ships to pass out with safety.

Without any consideration, and in contravention of the

orders which Afonso Dalboquerque had given, Francisco de Sousa Mancias,—who had been the first to set sail,—steered immediately with a rapid course straight towards the bar, but when Afonso Dalboquerque perceived this unauthorised manœuvre he sent Diogo Fernandez de Béja in the galley after him, and made him return, and when he was come back reprehended him seriously for daring to depart without permission, and deprived him of the captaincy of his ship, whereat he became very much displeased.

Directly that the Hidalcão observed that our fleet had sailed away, he despatched a brigantine to keep it in sight and take note of its intentions, while he himself entered into the fortress with all his Turks and Rumes with great joy, and many shouts and blowing of musical instruments, evincing thereby his great delight at having thus at length brought about a business for which he had so earnestly longed. But when he entered the castle and beheld in its courtyard all the principal Moors of the land decapitated, he became very sorrowful, and the outcries of all those who accompanied him were so loud that the Hidalcão was quite overcome at the sight of so much sorrow in a city which he had captured with so much satisfaction to himself.

And the Turks, too, and the Rumes as well on their part, when they did not find their wives and children, as they had expected, became very dejected, for it was this hope of recovering them that had induced them to undergo such great hardships in their efforts to effect an entry into the island. And while the Hidalcão was thus employed in this sorrowful task of consoling the fathers, the sons, and the relatives of those that lay there dead, the captain of the brigantine which he had sent out returned and reported to him how all the fleet of the Franks had dropped anchor opposite the fortress of Pangij, and how he thought it was its intention to establish itself there, because the chief captain had despatched a galley after one of the

ships which had sailed away in the direction of the bar, in order to get away, and made it return again within the bar.

When the Hidalcão heard this, fearing lest Afonso Dalboquerque should capture Pangij, and fortify his position there, immediately sent João Machado (in order to temporise with him while he could in the meantime provide that fortress with means of resistance) in the same brigantine to go and treat for peace with him. And as soon as this man had been sent forth on his journey, the Hidalcão despatched a captain with four hundred Turks and two thousand native peons, and artillery and all necessary munitions, and sent them to the fortress of Pangij to guard it, and to do all the injury they could to our fleet, in order that it should be compelled to weigh anchor and go away, or at any rate to make some composition with him.

João Machado began to speak of terms of peace directly he arrived, and after a lengthy interview that they held upon this matter, Afonso Dalboquerque told him that at the time when he held the fortress of Goa then he would have forthwith entered into any peace and alliance with the Hidalcão; but now that he was no longer master of it, he would enter into no agreement without first of all being replaced in Goa and all its revenues returned to him, and the settled tribute paid to the King D. Manuel for the lands that he had taken from the Indians, and he, the Hidalcão, become his subject and use only his flag, and he would further have to give up Dabul[1] in order that a fortress might be constructed there; if he would perform all this, then he would agree to a peace with him, for Goa belonged to the King of Portugal and should ever remain so.

João Machado returned with this reply, and on the follow-

[1] Daiwal, in the Bombay Presidency, 17 deg. 23 min. N., 73 deg. 33 min. E.; not far from Caripatan, and north of Goa. See Berthelot's Chart, quoted in previous pages.

ing morning the Hidalcão sent again to desire of Afonso Dalboquerque a hostage in order that two Turks—chief men,—might proceed to speak with him. So Afonso Dalboquerque sent D. Antonio de Noronha in a galley to converse with the Turks, close by the fortress of Pangij, and Diogo Fernandez de Béja to remain on the land as a hostage. And when D. Antonio arrived at the appointed place he sent Diogo Fernandez on shore, and the two Turks came down to the galley to speak with him, and all three remained a long space of time in conversation without coming to any conclusion on any point, for of a truth they did not really desire anything except a procrastination of events, in order to gain time for the victualling of the fortress of Pangij, which they effected; and when they took their leave of D. Antonio they spoke with him in relation to the ransoming of the women and children of the Turks and Rumes, but D. Antonio undeceived them, for he did not intend to surrender them for any consideration in the world; and so it turned out, for Afonso Dalboquerque took them away with him when he departed, and on the occasion of the second taking of Goa he converted them all to Christianity, and found husbands for them, as will be related in due course of time.

And when the Turks had left, D. Antonio received Diogo Fernandez again and returned to the ships, and related to his uncle all that had taken place; and Diogo Fernandez told him that while he was on land the Turks had made him a great many grand speeches in Italian and in Castilian. Our people were still dejected at the past events, and when they perceived that D. Antonio had come to no arrangement with the Turks, they concluded that all was lost, and made their way to Afonso Dalboquerque and put urgent pressure upon him to sail over the bar, although they all knew very well that the winter season was at its height, and it was not the proper time to attempt to sail over any bar in India.*

CHAPTER XXXV.

Of the council which the great Afonso Dalboquerque held whether he should sail away over the bar, and what happened thereupon; and how he sent away Fernão Perez Dandrade, who was cast away.

In order to pacify this uproar into which the captains had now induced all the people to enter, and in order to dissipate the disappointment which appeared to have taken hold upon them, the great Afonso Dalboquerque convened a meeting of the captains, masters, and pilots of the vessels; and when all were assembled, he told them that he was exceedingly astonished at their unreasonable conduct, for although they knew that it was not the proper time of the year to sail out over the bar, they were nevertheless exciting the men to make requisitions upon him to be gone, and that now they were all met together, masters and pilots, if they would tell him what they thought best for him to do, he would do it.

So whereas the captains were anxious to be gone, each one of his own motion began immediately to declare that the weather was favourable for sailing out over the bar, and it was his duty to proceed to winter quarters elsewhere, because he had a very short supply of provisions, and in these islands there were no means of their being able to lay in a fresh supply, for the Hidalcão had laid hands upon everything; and even if the weather should not permit them to reach Cananor or Cochim, they could at least pass the winter at Anjadiva;[1] and thus they rambled on, alleging various other

[1] Anjadiva. The position of this Indian seaport, now no longer marked on the maps, and apparently unknown to Pedro Berthelot when making his Indian charts in 1635, which are inserted into Pedro Barretto de Resende's work so often quoted in previous notes, is plainly marked in a very fine map of India contained in an atlas now in the Map Department of the British Museum, and formerly in the possession of Henry Chapman (? of Lisbon), from whom the Board of Admiralty

reasons in accordance with their own projects. But the masters and pilots, on the other hand, said that they were there in a broad and spacious place, with their ships securely moored, where the inhabitants of the city could not do them any harm, and even [if] this were not so, the bar was so dangerous to navigate now, that even a barque, let it be of ever so light a draught, could not go out over it; and even if it were taken for granted that they could pass out over it without incurring any danger, there was no place that they could pass the winter at; for Anjadiva, a place that had been proposed, could not admit of ships of so great a size and so deep a draught being able to remain there at that season of the year.

And at three or four assemblies which were held about this affair, the pilots and masters always arrived at the same conclusion, and the majority of the captains exactly the contrary opinion; and hereupon there were held many discussions, wherein they told Afonso Dalboquerque that all the people of the fleet were ashamed of him, and declared that he was anxious that they should all die of hunger there; and

purchased it in 1792. "This manuscript," according to a note on the first page, "appears to have been written in the year 1546, in the reign of John III, King of Portugal, when the Portuguese Nation had completed their Discoverys and Conquests in Africa, Asia, and America, at the time when their navigation and commerce was in the most flourishing state." The MS. is the work of Ferdinando Vaz or Fernão Vāz Dourado, and a very fine specimen of Portuguese illuminated hydrography of the middle of the sixteenth century. The places on the east coast of India apparently known to Portuguese navigators at this period are thus marked, commencing with the north—Gamdar, Baroche, Surate, *Damão*, Danu, Ilha das uaqas, *Agasai*, *Basaim*, Bombai, *Chaull*, Damda, Queleçi, Ceimado, *Dabull*, Zamgizara, Dobetelle, Ceitapor, Carapatão, O Pagode, *I. Qeimadō*, Bamda, *Goa*, Agasai, I. do Sall, *C. Daian*, Amgediua, *Onor*, Batecalla, Os Pumdes, *Barcellor*, Bacanor, I. de S. Maria, *Mangalor*, Monte Fermoso, Mamgesirão, Montedelli, Marabia, Baleapatão, *Cananor*, Trer[illegible]patão, Coulete, Challe, *Panane*, etc. The names in *italic* are in red ink, the others in black,—a distinction perhaps intended to shew Portuguese trade with, or possession of, the former class.

many other things they told him, which I suppress in order not to blame the dead nor shame those who are dead. When Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that in contrary spirit to the opinions of the pilots and masters the captains were ill-disposed to brook their present troubles and had quite forgotten that he was placed there as a governor over them all, he determined to venture the *St. John*, and ordered Fernão Perez Dandrade, who was the captain of this vessel, to proceed to Anjadiva, and, taking advantage of the first fair weather, bring back all the supplies he could possibly collect; and, in addition, he ordered Timoja to accompany him with two of his *fustas* to those ports, and bring away some of the supplies also. And when they were ready they set out and steered straight for the bar, but because the weather was very bad and the sea stormy, they dropped anchor just inside the bar and remained in that position all the night, and on the next morning at daybreak, when the weather began to moderate, Fernão Perez came to the resolution, with advice of his pilot, to make the attempt at getting over the bar.

When Timoja observed the resolution which had been taken, he told him on no account to weigh anchor, for even if the weather were to clear up, it was not a fit occasion for going over the bar, and if he endeavoured to do so he would be lost. But Fernão Perez was so anxious to execute the commands that had been delivered to him that he would not listen to Timoja's advice, but weighed anchors, and steered towards the bar, when it wanted but one watch to the ebb, and because the water ran strongly down from the mountains and the wind dropped, the ship grounded upon the shallows, where it was wrecked, and, being old, immediately went to pieces. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque saw the ship was wrecked, he sent off help in boats to save the men, and every one was taken up, and the artillery and all the fittings were saved. And when the cap-

tains saw how the vessel had been lost, then at length they were convinced of the soundness of the advice which the masters and pilots had offered, and there remained our fleet for many days suffering great hardships.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

How the Captain who was stationed in Pangij began to harass our ships with artillery; and how the great Afonso Dalboquerque acted with our men thereat; and how he would not accept the present which the Hidalcão sent to him.

When the Hidalcão became aware that the great Afonso Dalboquerque would not reply to the proposition concerning an agreement of a peaceable nature between them, he hastened more than ever to send the captain and men whom he had told off for Pangij. And when this captain arrived at the fortress he ordered his men without loss of time to attack our ships with his artillery, and inflicted great damage upon us in this manner. There was one day when they struck us with fifty large cannon-balls, besides other smaller shot. Our men were so disconcerted and dejected at this new difficulty in which they were involved, that they began to imagine that the Moors would be able to take the ships by means of their rafts, and this fear seized them in such a complete manner that Afonso Dalboquerque dared not try to rouse them out of it by reprehension, lest he should drive them to despair. But, on the contrary, when they approached him for the purpose of giving him advice as to what was best to be done in order to extricate himself from the peril in which he was situated, he replied that he was quite of the same opinion as themselves with regard to everything they said, and that he would put it in action at once, and then he went straightway to his chamber and cast his eyes up to heaven and besought God to forgive his sins,

for he felt that this dejection of the men could not be attributed by fear, but a divine visitation on account of his sins, for he had the *Cirne*, and the *Flor de la Mar*,—two ships so powerful that they alone were sufficient to protect them from the power of the Hidalcão.

And while the men were yet in this state of dejection two of his men-at-arms fled away to the Moors, and told the Hidalcão of the plight in which our people were situated, and of the great numbers of the sick that were in the fleet, and how his artillery inflicted great havoc in our ships, and that there was so much starvation among them that for want of provisions they were eating up all the rats that could be caught in the ships, and taking off the skins from the leather-covered chests, and boiling them for food, and every day they were making urgent request to the chief captain to quit the river. But because Afonso Dalboquerque was not willing to come to any terms with him, the Hidalcão attached but little credit to this relation which the two Christian runaways told him; and in order to make certain that it was the truth, he made up his mind that he would send a present of sheep and chickens, and other fresh provisions from the land to Afonso Dalboquerque. And when the Moor, who was dispatched for this purpose, had set out in a barque with the present, he came alongside of Afonso Dalboquerque's ship flying a white flag; and Afonso no sooner perceived the barque and the things that were on board than he at once divined that this had been done because the young fugitives had told the Hidalcão of the great straits to which the fleet was reduced, and he had sent the present in order to make sure of the state they were in.

In order, therefore, to pay the Hidalcão out in his own coin, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that the Moor should be detained on board the ship, and told the master to order the men to cut a barrel in two through the middle, and set it full of wine on the deck, and put all the biscuits that

remained into a sail—there was but little of this, and he had reserved it for those who were sick,—and when all this had been made ready, he gave the word to introduce the Moor, who, when he had approached near to him, told him that the Hidalcão his master had been notified of the great need he was in from the lack of supplies, and because he desired to be on friendly terms, and to be at peace and in alliance with the King of Portugal (as indeed he had frequently sent to say), he had sent him these fresh provisions; and if he required any victuals he should say so, for he would then forward them to him; for, although there was war between them, yet he, for his part, did not wish to carry it on by hunger, but with the sword in the hand.

Afonso Dalboquerque told him to relate to the Hidalcão that he was greatly obliged to him for the remembrance which he had of him, but it was not his custom to accept presents from his enemies in the time of war, and with respect to the provisions that he sent to offer him, in the fleet there was so much biscuit and wine that all the ships were as well provided as he could see here for himself, and not enough men to make use of these victuals. With this answer from Afonso Dalboquerque, the Moor carried back the present he had brought, and related to the Hidalcão all that he had seen, and all that had passed in his interview with him.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The council held by the great Afonso Dalboquerque respecting the attack upon the fortress of Pangij; and how he entered it, and of the slaughter he made of the Moors therein.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque became aware of the great destruction which was inflicted upon his fleet by the artillery that was mounted in the fortress of Pangij, he determined, in spite of all obstacles that could arise, to

attack the fortress, and for the effecting of this object to risk even life itself and all that remained. But in order to decide how he should act in this matter he called a meeting of all his captains, and told them that when first he found himself outside Goa he had come to the conclusion not to waste any more time in skirmishing with the Moors, for he who could relinquish the walls of a city so noble as that, ought not to care to be shooting arrows at a handful of negroes; but since it had so turned out that the artillery that was mounted in the fortress of Pangij compelled him to attack it, and he was thus forced to fight against his will, therefore he begged them of their kindness to tell him in what way he should act in order to achieve this object, for he was thoroughly set upon making the attack. And because in the deliberation which ensued there were numerous dissensions among the captains, and divers determinations were arrived at, Afonso Dalboquerque desired to be beforehand with them in everything before they could reply to him, so he said that he would not force any one to take part in this enterprise, but let them who were willing to follow him, upon hearing one of Timoja's trumpets sounded, assemble at his ship, for he intended, whether they were few or many, to take those whom he found ready with him, and go and fight the Moors who were stationed in the fortress, and relying upon the Passion of Our Lord he expected to take them into his hands.

The captains perceived his intentions, and replied that they would be with him in the projected enterprise, and without holding any more consultation on this behalf—for Afonso Dalboquerque was opposed to so doing, as he was by this time much annoyed at the course of affairs,—every one made his way to the ships to prepare himself, and that very night a young man fled away from the fleet and contrived to carry to the Hidalcão news of the council that had been held and of the intention which had been arrived at.

No sooner had the Hidalcão become possessed of the news which the young man had told him, than he summoned a meeting of his captains—and among them was João Machado,—and related to them all that the young man had said, and enquired of them whether or not it would be necessary to provide for Pangij a further supply of men and artillery. All the captains were of the opinion that the fortress contained a sufficient number of men for its defence, and that assistance could very easily be sent to it whenever any need should arise. But João Machado, who was [illegible] to speak, said that he was not of that opinion, but thought, on the other hand, that some reinforcements should be sent there, because if the statement made by the young man, that the artillery placed in the fortress inflicted so much injury upon the Portuguese ships, were true, it was certain that they would make up their minds to take the place.

Then one of the captains, who had long been a rival of this man, declared to the Hidalcão, that all that João Machado had said was more like the opinion of a Christian than a Moor, and that if he considered Pangij were in danger of being weak in its defence, provided that he had five hundred Turks given to him he would undertake, in combination with the other men who were already there, to defend the position against the entire Portuguese force. João Machado replied that the reason he had given his opinion for reinforcing the place was that he knew well how determined the Portuguese were; and this captain was welcome to go, but he, João, would wager that if the Portuguese behaved as he expected they would, they would appear to this captain a sort of people whom one would be unwilling to attack with a small force only.

And as they then began to make use of angry words to each other, for they had now for long time been unfriendly, the Turkish captains interposed themselves between the disputants, and separated them; and the Turkish captain proceeded to take up his position in Pangij with the number of

soldiers whom he had desired the Hidalcão to give him for this purpose, and it fell out that the reinforcement was made on the very day that Afonso Dalboquerque attacked the fortress. And the captain was received by those within it with loud shouts, and blowing of musical instruments, and bonfires, which were kept up all that night long.

Meanwhile, although the flight of the young man caused Afonso Dalboquerque to have some misgiving with regard to undertaking this expedition, it occurred to him that if the Hidalcão should be informed of his intentions, he would hasten to supply the fortress with as many soldiers as he had — nevertheless, he would on no account withdraw from that which he had already determined to do, and therefore, when the time arrived, he ordered the trumpet to be sounded, and all came on board his ship, and set out from that point, on a Friday before daybreak, the fourteenth day of the month of June. And as soon as they came to land, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered Diogo Fernandez de Béja to take twenty men and go and seize that gate of the fortress which looked towards the city and remain there, for thither would all make their way to his assistance. And to Dinis Fernandez, chief superintendent of the dockyards, he gave orders that with fifty mariners and bombardiers he should take care to carry off the great gun[1] and all the rest of the artillery that was in the fortress to the boats; while he himself took up a strong position with a body of soldiers on the shore, ready to render assistance wherever it should be required.

When all this had been thus arranged, at the sound of the trumpets, the captains rushed with their men to attack the bulwark with such fury, that without any stoppage they entered into it, each one where he could best find a way. And Manuel de Lacerda was the first who mounted upon the top of the wall. The Moors, who were half asleep, and

[1] *Camelo.*

quite confident in the numbers of men they had, found our men already hand to hand with them when they wished to make use of their weapons; and when they perceived that they were cut off, they took to flight and made their way to the gate of the fortress at which Diogo Fernandez was posted. And this party would have been entirely routed, owing to the overwhelming numbers of the Moors, had it not been for Garcia de Sousa who came to their assistance, and on arrival he found Diogo Fernandez and the greater part of his men badly wounded, and three of them killed. Just at this moment the other captains came up following behind the Moors, and united themselves into one body and fell upon the enemy and immediately discomfited them, so that the fortress remained entirely evacuated by its defenders—a force of about four thousand Turks and Moors.

In this engagement a hundred and fifty Turks and a hundred Hindoo peons, and three captains of the Hidalcão were killed on the enemy's side; and of ours about five hundred Portuguese, all *fidalgos* and important men in the fleet, who, being few in number, then performed a deed worthy of the highest praise—for, in nobly born minds, the dread of infamy of defeat overcomes every peril and every fear.

And by this time Dinis Fernandez had carried away all the Moorish artillery to the boats, as well as the two *camelos*, which they had formerly taken from Garcia de Sousa at Benastarim, and five *falcões*, that had been taken in the tower of Agacij, and a quantity of bows, arrows, and lances; and then Afonso Dalboquerque withdrew with all his men and betook himself again to the ships. And when every one had retired the Hindoos came and burned all the dead bodies—according to their custom,—and by this victory, which our people obtained over the Turks, João Machado acquired greater credit than ever with the Hidalcão by reason of what I have said, and because his rival was dead.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent Diogo Fernandez de Béja and the other captains in the galleys to reconnoitre the city and get true information respecting the fleet which was being made; and how D. Antonio, in succouring them, was killed.

After the great Afonso Dalboquerque had withdrawn with his forces to the ships, having obtained this victory—news having in the meantime reached him that the Hidalcão had built a fleet of twenty-five sails, of *parãos, fustas,* and watch-boats, armed with quantities of artillery and coiled cables, and painted flags,[1] and many men on board, with intention of setting fire to the Portuguese shipping—he dispatched Diogo Fernandez de Béja in a galley, and Afonso Pessoa and Simão Martinz in two others, to go and reconnoitre the city and observe whether this fleet that was reported was really being built. As soon as Diogo Fernandez and his companions had set out, Afonso Dalboquerque commanded Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, to make himself ready with all his captains in the boats belonging to their ships, in order to be able to render assistance to Diogo Fernandez, if it should be necessary to do so. And because, from the position in which the fleet was placed, neither the galleys nor the city could be seen by those on board—on account of their being hidden by a bend which the river makes there, —Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders to Diniz Fernandez to take up such a position in a *parão* in the middle of the stream that he could observe both one and the other.

The Turks, who were by this time quite prepared, no sooner caught sight of our galleys, than they gave the word to weigh anchors and set off with the intention of rowing up to them. And then Diniz Fernandez, who had them in

[1] *Padeses.* It is difficult to fix the meaning of this word; it is possible that it may mean *flags* or *banners.*

sight, as soon as he saw that the fleet of the Turks was under weigh, made a signal to D. Antonio de Noronha, who started forth immediately, rowing with all his might and main,[1] in company with all his captains. And because the tide was full, they very soon came in sight of the fleet of the Turks, and as quickly as possible D. Antonio de Noronha called out to Diogo Fernandez and the other captains who were of his party to row on and attack two watchboats which were making their way in front of the fleet. When Diogo Fernandez and the other captains, who were now lying-to upon their oars, perceived the succour which was approaching them, they gave orders to row on more rapidly and keep on their course, gradually approaching to the fleet of the Turks, and began to fire upon them with their artillery; and it fell out that the shot from one of the guns that were in the galley of Diogo Fernandez struck the watchboats, which were just ahead of them, and knocked them to pieces, and all the Moors were killed who were contained in them, some being killed by the discharges of the gun, and others being drowned in the river. And by this time D. Antonio and all the captains had come up and combined with Diogo Fernandez into one body.

Seeing the determination of our people, the Turks turned back towards the city, and Dom Antonio, with all the captains, continued to follow them up, until they ran aground at the dock, where many Moors were drawn up with the intention of resisting the fierce onset which our party was about to make; but when the ordnance on board the galleys began to tell upon them and killed several among them, they deserted the dock and retired to the city. D. Antonio, who proceeded towards one of our galeots which had remained on the stocks in progress of building, when the retreat took place, seeing that she was moored by cables on the land and without anyone on board, ranged up alongside of her in his

[1] *A roga arrancada.*

boat, and having landed, boarded her with his party, intending to launch her into the sea. And if all the others had acted likewise the galeot would not have remained on land, and he himself would not have been killed; but as it was, the Moors soon observed that D. Antonio was not well supported by our men, so they rallied round the galeot, and the contest raged on this side and on that in such a manner that three captains of the Hidalcão lay dead, and many of our people wounded, without their being able to dislodge the galeot, until at length they wounded D. Antonio with an arrow in the left knee, a wound which soon became so serious that he could not stand upon that leg, and being thus in very great pain, he left the galeot and withdrew into his boat again, and all the others lost no time in sheering off. And after this victory or disaster,—I know not which to call it, for there so rarely valiant a captain as D. Antonio was finished his days,—they all returned to the ships. But because he experienced great pain in his leg, he was unwilling that they should take him to his uncle's ship, so he went to the *Cirne*, of which he was the captain.

When Afonso Dalboquerque was informed of this disaster, he got into his skiff and went to see him, and found him already grievously stricken for death, and there were held many consultations as to the advisability of amputating the leg, but he would never consent, thinking that the evil was not so serious as to call for so severe a remedy, and thus he remained suffering great agony of pain until the eighth day of July, when he was attacked by a spreading inflammation,[1] which carried him off. And there was not a single person in the whole of the fleet who was not deeply affected, but especially his uncle, in that he had been deprived of him at a season when he most needed his personal assistance, his advice, and his knightly example. And then, letting fall many tears, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders to bury him

[1] *Erpes.*

at the foot of a tree, and when Goa was captured for the second time, he ordered his remains to be removed to the principal church; and he himself, at his death, left directions in his will that they should be removed to his chapel of Our Lady of the Mountain, which he built in the city of Goa, as will be related hereafter.

D. Antonio de Noronha was the son of D. Fernando de Noronha and of D. Costança de Castro, the sister of Afonso Dalboquerque, and younger brother to D. Alvaro de Noronha. He was a very brave cavalier, and never found himself placed in any position which caused him any fear. He was very virtuous, and God-fearing, and very truthful. He was found side by side with Afonso Dalboquerque in every one of the troubles which up to the hour of his death had come upon him. He died at the age of twenty-four years, four having elapsed since he had set out from Portugal with his uncle in the fleet of Tristão da Cunha.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The message which the Hidalcão sent to the great Afonso Dalboquerque, desiring that he would make peace with him, and further proceedings.

Inasmuch as the Hidalcão was far more anxious of making peace with the great Afonso Dalboquerque than of taking vengeance upon him for the defeat which our men had visited him with at the fortress of Pangij, after the space of a few days following this event, he sent two Turks, men of importance, to confer with Afonso Dalboquerque on the subject, and they, when they had come to the waterside opposite Pangij, began to make signals with their flags. Then Afonso Dalboquerque sent Gaspar Rodriguez, the interpreter, to land, to discover what they required.

The Turks told him to inform the chief captain that the

Hidalcão had sent them there to arrange terms of peace, and that he must send someone to confer with them. But as he was completely disgusted with their lying he would have nothing to say to them. Yet, nevertheless, in order that he might let no good opportunity escape him, he sent Pero Dalpoem in a boat well provided with men, to go and talk with them. Now whenever they came to discuss terms of peace, they always used to bring in their company certain Portuguese, who, having become Moors, were living among them, well dressed, and mounted on horses in accordance with their custom, and accompanied by canopies of state,[1] and these men used to give utterance to all manner of uncourteous words, and endeavoured to persuade our men to desert us and go to the Hidalcão—for besides gaining from him good wages thereby, they would spend there a very happy life, and become free of the troubles and shortness of food which they experienced with us.

Afonso Dalboquerque being angry at the vagabond behaviour of these Portuguese, and at the worthlessness of the Moors, in order to put an end to these shameful acts, told Pero Dalpoem to take with him a musqueteer, and if any of those vagabonds should come near them, he was to order his musqueteer to shoot him. Pero Dalpoem went off, and when he had arrived at the waterside, where the Turks were stationed, they began to discuss terms of peace, and there came up João Deiras, a Gallician—he formerly had been a mariner—who among our men served as a surgeon, together with others his companions, he being mounted on a horse very finely caparisoned, and clad in the attire of a

[1] *Sombreiros de Estado.* Bluteau describes at full length the *Sombreiro do pé alto*, which appears to have been a large kind of umbrella or canopy, used in India and China as a sign of nobility; and says "the men who carry this *sombreiro* are called in India *Boy*, and some of them are so dexterous in shading the sun, that running as fast as a horse, with the *sombreiro* in their hands, the sun does not ever strike upon their master's body."

Moor, with his servants and *sombreiro:* and he began to harangue in very discourteous terms. Then Pero Dalpoem seeing how João Deiras was proceeding with his wonted tales, told João Dilhanes, the bombardier, whom he had taken with him for this purpose, to shoot him, and he would hold him harmless. And as João Deiras was marching up and down, not far from the edge of the shore, putting his horse through its paces, and saying all kinds of things that came into his head, João Dilhanes, who was a very accurate marksman, fired off his matchlock, and down fell the vagabond dead upon the ground, whereat the Turks became very much alarmed.

But when Pero Dalpoem perceived how terrified they were at beholding the sudden death of João Deiras, he told them that the man had been condemned to death by just sentence, on account of his flight to the Moors, and consequently, in accordance with the law of the King of Portugal, any one could put him to death, wheresoever he might find him; he was sorry that it had taken place before their eyes, but he would beg them of their goodness, if henceforth they should come to talk about making peace, or about any other matter, not to bring in company with them any of those worthless fellows, for they made many very dishonourable speeches, but if they would continue to do so, it would be necessary to put them all to death.

The Turks replied that they were very sorry that at a time when they had met to talk of peace and friendship, these fellows should say anything to hurt the feelings of the Portuguese, and on this account, that which Pero Dalpoem had ordered to be done, had been done with very good reason, and there should be no more of these visits. And when these conversations were concluded, the Turks took their leave of Pero Dalpoem, and went away without having arrived at any conclusion, and Pero Dalpoem betook himself to the ship of Afonso Dalboquerque, and related to him all that had taken place.

CHAPTER XL.

How the Hidalcão sent one of his principal captains back again to speak with the great Afonso Dalboquerque respecting peace; and of the reply given to him, and what passed with him concerning Timoja.

Five days after the conclusion of this negotiation, which Pero Dalpoem had held with the two Turks, they began again to make signals with a flag from the fortress of Pangij. Afonso Dalboquerque sent to see what it was, and news was carried to him that there was a chief captain of the Hidalcão, whose name was Mostafação,[1] desirous of an interview with him, if he would send a hostage to remain on land. But as Afonso Dalboquerque was greatly distressed at the death of D. Antonio, his nephew, he would not have any thing to say to this captain. Yet the Portuguese captains explained to him that inasmuch as the Hidalcão had sent a captain of so high a rank as this messenger manifestly was, it must be because he intended to perform all that was demanded of him, and therefore he ought to consent to see him and to hear what he had to say, for it was possible that he might propose some settlement which should meet with their universal approbation. And, thereupon, although it was against his will, at this opinion of the captains, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered them to get ready a *parão*, all carpeted over with silken stuffs, and bade Gaspar de Paiva, and Diogo Fernandez de Béja, and Pero Dalpoem, to get into it and proceed to shore, and bring the captain to him; and with these he sent Francisco Corvinel,[2] and Diogo Fernandez, the *Adail* of Goa, to re-

[1] Evidently the Portuguese rendering of the Arabic *Mustafa Khan*.

[2] Francisco Corvinel was the *Armador* or *Armourer* of the fleet which accompanied Dom Fernando Coutinho to India in 1509. See page 56, note.

main behind as hostages, and Gaspar Rodriguez the interpreter to go on land also with the messages. And when the *parão* was ready, they set out; and having arrived in front of the fortress of Pangij, Pero Dalpoem sent Gaspar Rodriguez the interpreter to shore in an *almadia*, to inform the Turks that the great Afonso Dalboquerque had commanded him to come there in that *parão* in order to convey their captain to his ship, and that he had at the same time brought the hostages with the intention of leaving them on shore.

The Turks forthwith sent to reply to him that Mostafação was a man of the very highest rank, and one of the most superior captains in the service of the Hidalcão, and that he had in his retinue two Turks who were men of very great position; therefore if they brought D. Antonio de Noronha—it appears that they did not yet know that D. Antonio was dead—as a hostage to remain on shore, these three should go to Afonso Dalboquerque, but if not, they must go back again. Pero Dalpoem replied that Dom Antonio had not come with them, for he was very ill, but that two men of very high rank, servants and captains of the King of Portugal, had come for this purpose. And at this reply the Turks were quite contented and sent word for them to be landed.

Then Pero Dalpoem dispatched them at once in the *almadia*, and in it was conveyed back to him Mostafação, with the two noble Turks, who went on board the *parão*, and made their way to the admiral's flagship, where Afonso Dalboquerque was stationed with all the captains, *fidalgos*, and honourable persons in the fleet, on the quarter-deck of the ship, which had been decorated for this interview. And Afonso Dalboquerque stepped out to receive the envoy at the edge of the deck, and showed him much attention, and after much politeness had passed between them, Mostafação said that he wished to deliver a message to him from

the Hidalção, but it could not be delivered before so large a concourse of persons.

Then Afonso Dalboquerque stood up, and withdrew with him and the two Turks into his private chamber, taking with him Cogebequi, and Lourenço de Paiva, secretary, and Pero Dalpoem, *Ouvidor*[1] of India; and when all were seated, Mostafação gave him many kind messages on the part of the Hidalção and of all his captains, saying that although war between them was still going on, it was the custom of captains in times of peace to send and receive compliments to and from one another; and proceeding with his remarks, he told Afonso Dalboquerque that the Hidalcão his lord, being very desirous of having peace, had sent him thither to perform everything that was desired of him; for he would be very glad if any kind of alliance could be arrived at between them; and that the Hidalcão would be very delighted to surrender Goa to him, so earnestly did he wish for his friendship, but the Turks would not permit him to give up the city; but he begged him earnestly that he would be pleased to take Cintácora, with all its lands and great revenue, for there was there a very good harbour, where he could construct a fortress if he desired.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he had no cause of complaint against the Hidalcão, for all the events of the war were guided by the will of Our Lord; and although for the present he had been driven out of Goa, yet a time would come when the tables would be turned; but as for everything else that he said he was determined on no account to accept any other thing except the island of Goa, with all its lands, and therefore if the Hidalcão chose to give it up, then they could become friends, but if not, then there was no use in talking any more about it.

Mostafação answered that the Hidalcão, his lord, would

[1] *Ouvidor*, a kind of Judge or Magistrate, here evidently *the chief magistrate*.

not surrender the island of Goa, because he had gained possession of it, and if he were to yield it up again, he would lose a great portion of his estate and his prestige; and then he went close up to Afonso Dalboquerque, and told him in the course of his conversation, that he thought that the Turks would consent to the surrender of Goa, if he would give up Timoja to the Hidalcão his lord. Afonso Dalboquerque was so affronted at the thought of Mostafação proposing such a thing as the betrayal of Timoja, that he answered sternly he was very much surprised at his daring to propose such a course of conduct as that to him, for Timoja had always been a very loyal servant of his lord the King D. Manuel, and for his services he was worthy of great consideration and honour; and let him say to the Hidalcão that the kingdom of Goa was a possession of his lord the King D. Manuel as long as his captain-general of India so chose; and he would promise him, before that summer should pass away, that he would be taking his rest again in the palace at Goa, and that he hoped to make Timoja a very great lord in the kingdom of Decan; and then the Hidalcão would learn whether the counsel which the Turks gave him was good or not; and then he took his leave of him, and he went back in the *parão* as he had come, and Diogo Fernandez and Francisco Coryinel, who had remained on shore as hostages, were brought back.

CHAPTER XLI.

How matters stood between the great Afonso Dalboquerque, at anchor in the river at Goa, and certain Captains, respecting the hanging of Ruy Diaz; and how he determined to send D. João de Lima with the sick men to Cochim.

At the time that the grand Afonso Dalboquerque was riding at anchor in the river of Goa, suffering all these

hardships which I have detailed, with his forces prostrated by sickness and his supplies of food very much reduced, and all the while the weather remaining so foul that there was no means of any one of them getting over the bar, information was brought to him that for many days past a certain Ruy Diaz,[1] a man-at-arms, had been in the habit of entering into the apartments of the Moorish women whom he had taken prisoners in Goa. When he learned this, fearing lest Our Lord should visit him with some severe punishment unless he showed himself capable of appreciating the dangers of this situation, he summoned before him Pero

[1] This event, which is told in the Commentaries with the simplicity which characterises the whole of the text, has been thrown into, perhaps, unnecessary prominence by all the biographers of Afonso Dalboquerque, because Camões devotes considerable space to the case. The passage in the *Lusiad* is as follows:—

"Mais estanças cantara esta sirena
Em louvor do illustrissimo Albuquerque,
Mas alembrou-lhe huma ira, que o condena,
Postoque a fama sua o mundo cerque.
O grande capitão, que o fado ordena
Que com trabalhos gloria eterna merque,
Mais ha de ser hum brando companheiro
Para os seus, que juiz cruel, e inteiro.

"Mas em tempo que fomes, e asperezas,
Doenças, frechas, e trovões ardentes,
A sazão, e o lugar fazem crueзas
Nos soldados a tudo obedientes,
Parece de selvaticas brutezas,
De peitos inhumanos, e insolentes,
Dar extremo supplicio pela culpa,
Que a fraca humandade, e Amor desculpa.

"Não será a culpa abominoso incesto,
Nem violento estupro em virgem pura,
Nem menos adulterio deshonesto;
Mas c'huma escrava vil, lasciva, e escura:
Se o peito, ou de cioso, ou de modesto,
Ou de usado a crueza fera e dura,
Co'os seus huma ira insana não refrea,
Poe na fama alva noda negra e fea.

Dalpoem, the *Ouvidor,* and impressed very strongly upon him the need of privately obtaining information concerning the progress of this business (and to assist him he appointed

"Vio Alexandre Apelles namorado
Da sua Campaspe, e deo-lha alegremente,
Não sendo seu soldado exprimentado,
Nem vendo-se n'hum cerco duro e urgente.
Sentio Cyro que andava já abrazado,
Araspas de Panthêa em fogo ardente,
Que elle tomara em guarda, o promettia,
Que nenhum máo desejo o venceria:

"Mas vendo o illustre Persa, que vencido
Fora de Amor, que em fim não tem defensa,
Levemente o perdoa, e foi servido
Delle n' hum caso grande em recompensa.
Por força, de Juditha foi marido
O ferreo Baldovino; mas dispensa
Carlos, pai della, posto em cousas grandes,
Que viva, e povoador seja de Frandes."

Camões, *Lus.*, x, 45-49.

". . . Here with a sighful frown
The goddess paused, for much remained unsung,
But blotted with an humble soldier's wrong.
Alas! she cries, when war's dread horrors reign,
And thundering batteries rock the fiery plain,
When ghastly famine on a hostile soil,
When pale disease attends a weary toil,
When patient under all the soldier stands,
Detested be the rage which then demands
The humble soldier's blood, his only crime
The amorous frailty of the youthful prime!
Incest's cold horror here no glow restrained,
Nor sacred nuptial bed was here profaned,
Nor here unwelcome force the virgin seized;
A slave lascivious, in his fondling pleas'd,
Resigns her breast—Ah, stain to Lusian fame!
('Twas lust of blood, perhaps 'twas jealous flame;)
The leader's rage, unworthy of the brave,
Consigns the youthful soldier to the grave.
Not Ammon thus Apelles' love repaid,
Great Ammon's bed resigned the lovely maid:

as his scrivener Lourenço de Paiva to be secretary); and if they should find Ruy Diaz guilty, he bade them arrest him and proceed against him in accordance with the rules of justice.

Pero Dalpoem began to prepare his act of accusation privately, and discovered by the testimony of many persons that Ruy Dias had for some days been in the habit of entering the apartments of the women. And when he considered the nature of the crime, and the place and the occasion in which it had been committed, he adjudged that the perpetrator should be executed; so he ordered that he should be hanged in the ship *Flor da Rosa*, of which Bernaldim Freire was captain. And when the *Meirinho* proceeded to put the execution of this sentence in force, which the *Ouvidor* had ordered him to perform, there went out from the small galley—where they had all met together—Simão Dandrade, captain thereof, Fernão Perez his brother, Jorge Fogaça, Francisco de Sá, and Bernaldim Freire, and passed alongside of the ship *Flor da Rosa*, where the *Meirinho* was hanging Ruy Diaz, and put on board her Bernaldim Freire and Francisco de Sá; and when these two had gone on board, Francisco de Sá went immediately with a drawn sword in his hand to the bowsprit of the ship; and cut the rope and drew him into the ship.

When the *Meirinho* perceived that they had rescued the prisoner, he began to cry in a loud voice for Afonso Dalboquerque to send him assistance, for they had rescued the delinquent. And Fernão Perez Dandrade, Simão Dandrade, and Jorge Fogaça in their *paráo* went up and down

> Nor Cyrus thus reproved Araspas' fire;
> Nor haughtier Carlo thus assumed the sire,
> Though iron Baldwin to his daughter's bower,
> An ill-match'd lover, stole in secret hour:
> With nobler rage the lofty monarch glow'd
> And Flandria's earldom on the knight bestow'd.
>
> Mickle's *Lusiad*, bk. x.

among the fleet, and began to wave white cloths from one ship to the other, as signals, requiring the captains, on the part of the king, to forbid the execution of that man. The uproar, however, was so great throughout the fleet that they were not understood; and the captains, not knowing what was taking place, gave orders to haul their boats on board, and every one began to make himself ready to go and give help wherever it should be required. Afonso Dalboquerque perceiving the disturbed state of the fleet, and that the captains were making signals with white cloths, and having by this time received a message from the *Meirinho* that the prisoner had been rescued, got into his boat with fifty armed men, and proceeded to bear down upon the *parão* which contained Fernão Perez, Simão Dandrade, and Jorge Fogaça, with the intention of putting them down at once, and with them all those who had rallied at their outcries.

But when these men saw him in his boat, they ceased going from ship to ship, and went straight to meet him; and when they came up, Afonso Dalboquerque inquired of them what all the disturbance was about which they were making, for every one was terrified with a false report that it was the Turks coming to set fire to the fleet: and why they were calling out Murder,[1] for was not justice to be meted out to a man who had committed that crime at a season when it was more fitting to be sitting in sackcloth than undertaking such gallantries; and that he had commanded that execution to be performed on his own responsibility

And while he was thus speaking, Jorge Fogaça leaped into his boat, and exclaimed that he ought not to have ordered such a sentence to be carried out in such a manner upon a man of so honourable a position as Ruy Diaz was, and he must at once produce the acts and testimony, and the power he possessed for acting in such a manner; and

[1] *E porque bradavam da parte del Rey.*

Fernão Perez Dandrade and Simão Dandrade concurred also in this way of thinking; only what they said was couched in more respectful terms of speech.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque determined to chastise these men, in order that this want of respect shown towards his personal authority should not pass without punishment according to its proper deserts, so he compelled them to go on board his own ship, and caused them to be taken below deck, loaded with irons, and ordered the *Ouvidor* to go to the *Flor da Rosa*, and at once give the necessary commands for hanging Ruy Diaz. Afterwards, in the formal inquiry which was made respecting these proceedings, Francisco de Sá was found to be deeply involved, therefore Afonso Dalboquerque commanded that he should be arrested, and put in irons below deck along with the others, and as for Bernaldim Freire, he only suspended him from the captainship of his vessel, for it was proved in evidence that he had been beguiled by Francisco de Sá.

When these captains had been arrested, the people in the fleet became more quiet and free from the uproars which had been going on every day, and the other captains from that time forward became more polite and frank in their conversation. And on the conclusion of all this, the fifteenth day of July being already come, on account of the numbers that were prostrated with sickness, and the want of proper supplies in the fleet for their cure, and the great need of supplies, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered D. João de Lima to make ready as chief captain of a squadron of four ships, whereof the captains were Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, Luiz Coutinho, Francisco Pereira, and Antonio de Matos, who were to force a passage out, and send him back whatever supplies they could gather up, loaded into two of the four ships; and if they were to find in Anjadiva any captain who had arrived thither from Portugal, to tell him, on the part of Afonso Dalboquerque, that he must make his way to

the bar of Goa, and there anchor to help and succour him, and Nuno Vaz was to be sent on from Anjadiva with the sick men to Cochim; and he gave him a written note of instructions which he was to carry out, and where he was to wait for him: and he ordered Timoja to go in his watch-boats to Onor, where he could also get some supplies. And when all was prepared, the squadron set sail, and went straight towards the bar; but on account of the high wind the ships could not pass over the bar; so they cast anchor close to the bank, and there remained waiting for an opportunity to get out and prosecute their voyage.

CHAPTER XLII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set sail with the intention of sailing away over the bar with the whole of the fleet: and the reason why he did not do so, and what further passed.

D. João had now set sail with the small vessels, and Timoja with his watch-boats, as I have already stated, and as the great Afonso Dalboquerque found himself every day insulted by the captains and the men with requisitions that he would get away from Goa, although it was not a proper season of the year to go to Cananor, nor to Cochim, nor was the bar sufficiently deep in water to enable them to force a way through, he decided, in order to arrive at a definite understanding with them all, and also in order to demonstrate to them that what they desired could not possibly be carried out, to give them an opportunity to have their own way. And consequently in five or six days' time—this would be about the twenty-first of July—he ordered the whole fleet to set sail, and proceeded to the bar, where they found D. João de Lima and Timoja still at anchor, because the weather was as yet not of that kind that they could get over the bar.

As soon as the Hidalcão discovered that our fleet was in full sail, he suspected that they were bound immediately for an outward voyage over the bar, and sent Roçalcão[1] with all the soldiers, both foot and horse, that he had in the city, to make the best way they could by land straight to the bar, and see if they could inflict any injury upon our ships as they were passing over. And on his arrival, Roçalcão lost no time in getting a large gun which he had in his train set up in position in a high wood on the side near to Bradez, which overlooks the entry of the bar, and from that place the enemy began to aim at our ships, and sent four cannon-balls into the side of the *Flor de la Mar,* and all the others were badly struck by the gun, and some men were killed. But because the weather again commenced to be very threatening, and our fleet was no longer secure in the position then occupied, they set sail back again to the old position which they had formerly occupied, and anchored there; and D. João, with his ships, and Timoja, with his watch-boats, also accompanied the fleet in its return.

When the news was spread in the city that Afonso Dalboquerque had returned to his old position within the bar, so great was the uproar and panic among those who had remained in the fortress—because it was entirely destitute of soldiers, every one having been taken to co-operate in the enemy's movements at the bar—that the Hidalcão fled away with his women and abandoned it. And after that all the ships had been moored, Afonso Dalboquerque, on account of the urgent necessity for provisions under which they laboured, sent orders forthwith to Garcia de Sousa to start that very night with the galleys, *paráos,* and boats, and make a descent upon one of the islands in the river of Goa, and endeavour as best he could to collect some provisions.

And all were ready for the expedition which started on

[1] The Portuguese transliteration of a native name, perhaps, *Ali-Khan.*

midnight, and proceeded up the river, and attacked an island where some rice and a few cows, and *palmito*[1], and other fresh food were obtained, and the men took captive two daughters of a Brahman (*Braminá*) of Goa, whom they found upon the island, and they set fire to the houses, and returned by the break of day; and Afonso Dalboquerque commanded that everything that had been obtained should be divided equally among all the people in the fleet, at which all were pleased.

After five or six days had elapsed, Timoja made his way to Afonso Dalboquerque, and told him that the Brahman, the father of the girls whom Garcia de Sousa had captured, had sent him word, saying, that on condition that his two daughters were restored he would give to the Portuguese information where there was a small *zámbuco*, laden with rice and other native grain, and that they could also make a raid upon the island where it was. So Afonso Dalboquerque agreed to this, and delivered up the girls, and ordered Diogo Fernandez de Béja and Gaspar de Paiva to take their boats and go, in company with Timoja, to that cunningly planned rendezvous of the Brahman; and the appointed party did so, and went by night, and reached the island, where he was waiting for them, and there they took possession of the *zambuco* and fifty cows, and

[1] Bluteau gives the following account of the *Palmito*—"Toma-se por qualquer palma pequena; mas propriamente he o olho da palmeyra, e a parte interior, ou miolo do seu tronco, e finalmente o ponto, e como o centro donde sahem todos os ramos da arvore. He huã substancia alva como leyte coalhado, muito tenra, e de melhor gosto que os melhores doces; he alimento tão salutifero, que ainda que se coma muyto delle não offende. Dos palmitos de coqueyras, que tambem se chamão palmeyras diz o P. Fr. João dos Santos, no 3. livro da *Ethiopia Oriental*, cap. II. 'O olho destas palmeyras se come tambem, e he muyto excellente, e saboroso, ao qual chamão *Palmito*.' Quando querem comer estes palmitos, cortão as palmeyras pelo pé, e depois de lhe cortarem todas os palmas do olho, e a casca de fóra, fica o palmito limpo, alvo, e fermoso, de mais de hum covado, e de quatro, ou cinco palmos de roda."

Timoja gave him back his daughters whom he carried with him.

This done, the party re-assembled and returned before morning came; and as it was now the end of July, and small vessels could get out over the bar with less risk of danger, therefore Afonso Dalboquerque commanded D. João de Lima to set sail at once, and he told Timoja to go to Ourem and make ready for him all the provisions that could be obtained, for he had made up his mind—having received information that the Hidalcão wished to depart—to meet where he was at Goa with his great ships for the fleet which was coming from Portugal.[1]

After that D. João de Lima had set sail, the captains,

[1] The expeditions from Portugal to India in this year are thus briefly described in the "Armada da India", Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 20902, f. 13.

"Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos, Cappitam môr.

Anno de 1510.

"4 Vellas a 12 de Março.

"Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos Cap. moor de quatro naos: partyo a doze de Março pera Ir conquistar Malaca: Capitães Balthazar da Sylua, Pero Caresma, Misser Serniche armador;* e no mesmo anno partio por capitão de tres Carauellas, João Serrão: Capitães Pero de Sousa, Gaspar Cão; e isto para descubrir a Ilha de São Lourenço e asentar nella feitoria que não teve efeito.†

"Neste mesmo anno Gonçalo de Siqueira Capitão moor de sete naos partio a desaseis de março:‡ Capitães Lourenço Moreno, João de Aueiro, Jorge nunes de Leão, Lourenço Lopez, Manoel da Cunha, que se perdeo Junto a Moçãbique, Diogo lobbo d'Alualade.

"Diogo mendes de Vasconselos não pasou a Malaca como lhe El Rey mandaua por lho impedir o Gouernador Affonso d'Albuquerque.

"Destas quatorze naôs as primeiras quatro de que era Cappitam

* Outra Relaçao lhe-chama Diniz Cerniche armador da naô em que hia.

† João Serram Cappitam môr de tres vellas, ou Caravellas partiu no mez de Agosto de 1510. Outra Relacão chama a Pero de Souza Payo de Souza, e não declara o nome do outro Cappitam, e só diz, que era Cavalleiro da Caza del Rey.

‡ Gonçalo de Siqueira Cappitam mór de 7 naôs partiu a 16 de Março, Manoel da Cunha era filho de Tristão da Cunha, perdeu-se—Jorge Nunes de Leam foy na naô *Sta. Anna* Enxobregas—João de Aueiro por ser muy sufficiente na Arte do Mar, servia tambem de Piloto na naô *S. Sebastiam* em que foy.

who by this time had divined the intentions of Afonso Dalboquerque, went to him and made many and earnest demands upon him to sail away out of the river, and go to Cochim, where he could refit his fleet, for there were not sufficient provisions on board if they were to remain where they were. And Afonso Dalboquerque replied that if they, the captains, felt themselves pinched by need of supplies, he himself also had not escaped the same, and that he earnestly hoped they would yet put up with troubles for a little longer, and rally the spirits of the men who had been kept in a constant state of alarm, for he had been credibly informed that the lords of the kingdom of Decan had risen up in rebellion against the Hidalcão, and his officers kept on sending him, day after day, letters and broken arrows, which were signs that his men were besieged; and thus the Hidalcão would be unavoidably compelled to go to their assistance, for should he not do so he would run a very great risk of losing his estate; and if the Portuguese remained in the river of Goa with their fleet, they forced the Hidalcão to keep there all his army; and in consequence of this proceeding that prince must lose either one thing or the other, viz., Goa or the rest of the kingdom.

Nevertheless, the captains, for all that they very well understood in what a position all these affairs stood, never ceased making their demands that he should go to Cochim

Môr Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos hia a Malaca assentar nella trato.

"As sette de que era Cappitam Môr Gonçalo de Siqueira hiam para trazer a Carga da especiaria.

"As tres de que era Cappitam Môr João Serrão mandava El Rey descobrir a Ilha de S. Lourenço, e assentar com os naturaes della trato de Gengivre no Porto Matatana.

"Successos. Manoel da Cunha perdeu-se com toda a gente junto de Moçambique. Gonçalo de Siqueira vindo para este Reino invernou em Moçambique, e chegou no anno de doze."

and from that port return in such a manner that he would be sure of achieving whatever he desired. Yet, when Afonso Dalboquerque could not bring himself to abandon the attempt to regain possession of Goa, he begged the captains to wait there with him for a further space of fifteen days; and when these had passed, then he would do whatever they wished. For he knew of a certainty that the Hidalcão was anxious to return to his own lands, and indeed that he had been compelled to spend all that time at Goa more by the Turks than by his own will. And to see how true this statement was, they required no better proof than the many occasions on which the Hidalcão had sought to make peace, offering them lands and places for the purpose of erecting a fortress—provided only that it were not Goa—all the time that they remained in that river suffering so much trouble and so many hardships, as was well known.

Notwithstanding all these arguments, and others, which Afonso Dalboquerque laid before the captains, with the object of persuading them to wait and see what the Hidalcão intended to do, they maintained their own opinion, and continued to make many demands upon him to sail away. And thus, finding himself unable to count upon any assistance from the captains, and that he was compelled against his will to comply with their desires, he told them to get all in readiness, for on the very first opportunity when the bar should be in a fit condition, he would give them their own way, and set sail away from Goa.

CHAPTER XLIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque sailed out of the river of Goa with all the fleet: and how he came up *en route* with Diogo Mendez, on the voyage from Portugal, and what passed between them.

It was not until the fifteenth day of the month of August, of one thousand fifteen hundred and ten, that the bar of Goa was in proper state for the fleet to pass over it, and then the order was issued to the captains to weigh their anchors and set their sails; and because on this day, on account of the lateness of the hour, they could not get over, the fleet proceeded to cast anchor upon the bank of the bar, and early in the morning of the following day they passed over, and sailed straight away to Anjadiva. And on that very day, at set of the sun, they caught sight of five sailing vessels, which stood in from the sea to observe the position of the land.

Thereupon Afonso Dalboquerque dispatched Antonio da Costa, captain of the vessel named *The Little King (Rey pequeno)*, and Duarte de Melo, of *The Great King (Rey grande)*, to go and speak with them, and discover what ships they were; and these two ships steered off in the track of the others, in order to reconnoitre them; but as the night was by this time come, they lost sight of them; but on the following morning the ships came up with our fleet. And then it turned out that it was Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos[1], who had come from Portugal as chief

[1] A clerical error of both editions of the *Commentarius* gives this name here as Diogo *Fernandez* de Vasconcellos, but the texts, in the very next consecutive sentence, unconsciously correct themselves to Diogo *Mendez;* and the manuscript I have quoted at p. 196, substantiates the name of *Mendez*, which I have consequently here substituted for the erroneous reading. Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos finds a place in the "Linhagens de Portugal" by Antonio de Lima Pereira.—Brit. Mus., MS. Lansd., 189, f. 304.

captain of four ships to go to Malaca, and Francisco Marrecos, Captain of the *Bretam*[1] (the *Briton*), one of the vessels belonging to the fleet of the Marshal[2], who had wintered in Moçambique.

Directly that Afonso Dalboquerque knew that it was Diogo Mendez, he ordered some persons to pay him a visit, and to tell him to shape his course for Anjadiva, and there they would have an opportunity of seeing each other. And on the seventeenth of the aforesaid month [of August] everyone came to an anchor off Anjadiva; and when all the fleet was riding at anchor, Diogo Mendez came with all his captains to visit Afonso Dalboquerque, and brought him news from Portugal, and of the fleet which had set sail that year, carrying as chief captain Gonçalo de Siqueira[3].

Afonso Dalboquerque told him he was very glad at the coming of Gonçalo de Siqueira just in the very nick of time, because he had deliberately come to the conclusion that he should return to the siege of Goa with all the forces he could possibly muster together, and attack the enemy, for he had been informed that he would easily be able to effect this object. And then he gave him an account of all that had taken place in Goa, and of the state in which its fortunes now were placed. And after that they had spent some time in conversing of these matters, Diogo Mendez took his leave, and returned to his ship, and on the morning of the following day came to Afonso Dalboquerque unaccompanied by anyone, and gave him a letter of the King D. Manuel, wherein he sent him his best remembrances, and commanded him to lose no time in setting Diogo Mendez quickly on his voyage, with the best dispatch of

[1] Francisco Marrecos, according to one account, was captain of the *S. Francisco*. See page 56, note.

[2] D. Fernando Coutinho.

[3] For the account of this expedition, see page 196, note.

his business, for such would be most serviceable to himself.

To this Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he would comply in every respect with the commands of His Highness, and besides the fact that he would thereby be only showing his obedience and respect to orders, yet out of kindly feeling also to him he would be happy to do all that lay in his power, and would give him pilots and everything else that was necessary. Diogo Mendez kissed the hands of Afonso Dalboquerque in token of gratitude for that willingness shown in his kindness towards him, and his offers of ready dispatch; and he said that if he would set him out on his voyage at once, he hoped, with the aid of God, to arrive again at Portugal before the ships of burden did; and he could assure him that, being actuated by a strong desire of reaching India at that time, and of doing all that he could to the service of the king, he had suffered great hardships in his voyage, because he had always endeavoured to carry as much sail as he could. He also brought a letter, he said, for Timoja, from the king, in which it was ordered that he should give him pilots for his voyage, and he should be glad if Afonso Dalboquerque would advise him what he ought to do in this respect. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that Timoja had no pilots whom he could give him; but nevertheless he would give him the letter, for he was sure to be very much pleased at the receipt of it; and he, Diogo, might return to his ship and make himself ready, for he had determined to sail away immediately in a straight course to Cananor; and these same instructions he sent round to all the captains, and that there would be a consultation when they arrived there.

On the night of that very day, which was the nineteenth of the said month [of August] all set sail and brought up in front of Onor. And when all had cast anchor, Afonso Dal-

boquerque sent a message to Timoja to come and converse with him; and there he found Bras Vieira, whom he had appointed as *Tanadar*[1] of Cintácora, with all the officers who had accompanied him from Goa, for he could not return to Goa on account of the Hidalcão's army; so he had made his way by land to Onor. As soon as Timoja received the message, he went at once to see Afonso Dalboquerque, and when he arrived, Diogo Mendez embraced him, and delivered the king's letter to him, with which he was very much gratified, and he declared that he was the subject of the King of Portugal, and would serve him in all things. And to Afonso Dalboquerque Timoja related that three days after he had passed out over the bar with his fleet, the Hidalcão had set out to return to his kingdom; and on the withdrawal of the hostile forces, all the lands of Goa and Saste, as far as Cintácora on the one side, and as far as Condal on the other side, had revolted, and the people had put to death all the Moorish *Tanadares* who had been appointed throughout the land to superintend the collection of the taxes.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he was much pleased at hearing this news, and begged and entreated him that he would maintain the natives in that hatred of the Moors until his return, which he hoped in God would be very soon, and that he would get ready a large quantity of supplies. And after spending the whole of that day in conversing about a variety of matters, he dismissed Timoja, and set sail with all his fleet, accompanied by Diogo Mendez with his ships; and on the twenty-sixth of the said month [of August] arrived at Cananor. But because it was late in the day when he arrived, he did not go on shore that day, but on the morning of the following day he disembarked, and on reaching the quay—where Rodrigo Rabelo, the captain of the fortress, with all his men, stood

[1] See page 125, note; and page 126.

waiting for him—they all made their way to the fortress, except Diogo Mendez and his captains, who had not disembarked. And when all were seated, discussing the present state of affairs, Rodrigo Rabelo told them he had received credible information from the Moorish merchants of Cananor to the effect that the Rumes had set out from Suez with an enormous fleet to reinforce Goa, and that in addition there had arrived there a ship, which had come from Diu, which had brought the same news.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque heard this information he declared to Rodrigo Rabelo, and to all the other captains who were there assembled, that Diogo Mendez, while he was at Anjadiva, had begged him to despatch him without delay, so that he might proceed on his voyage to Malacca; but now they ought to tell him whether they considered it well to allow Diogo Mendez to carry this voyage, which he had been ordered to perform, into effect, seeing that they were in possession of this positive news concerning the coming of the Rumes, or to detain him until the coming of Gonçalo de Siqueira. And after that Rodrigo Rabelo and all the captains had explained their own views in the matter, Garcia de Sousa said that by reason of what experience he had of the navigation of Malaca, — for he had been there with Diogo Lopez de Siqueira[1],—Diogo Mendez could not possibly lose his passage until the fifteenth day of September, but rather the weather would be better then for the navigation, and that Diogo Mendez ought to wait until that time, and then certain information could be acquired whether it would be more to the service of the king to take these ships with him to Goa, on account of the excitement which was then arising in India at the expected coming of the Rumes, or to suffer them to prosecute their voyage. The captains, after listening to Garcia de

[1] For notices concerning this expedition, and its result, see pp. 31 note, 45 note, and 73.

Sousa, concurred in his opinion, and Afonso Dalboquerque agreed with them.

CHAPTER XLIV.

How Afonso Dalboquerque reached Cananor, and had an audience of the King; and of the arrival of Duarte de Lemos and Francisco Pantoja: and what dealings Afonso Dalboquerque had with him.

A few days after this conversation, which the great Afonso Dalboquerque held with his captains, he sent word to the King of Cananor that he was very desirous of an interview with him, and that he begged him of his kindness that he would give him permission to do so; but whereas the king was already determined to come and visit him he sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque to remain where he was, for he would come and visit him on the beach outside the fortress.

And when this had been thus settled, the king commanded his men to furnish a tent on that spot, where the interview was to take place, all carpeted inside with very rich tapestries, and fitted with a sofa[1] covered over with a silken cloth, and having cushions of the same make, whereon he was to be seated. And as soon as everything had been prepared, the king came from the city to wait there for Afonso Dalboquerque, and brought with him Mamalle[2], and the *Alguazil* of Cananor, and the rulers of the land, and many other noble Moors, and his body-guard of five thousand *Naires*, all armed with swords and daggers. And on the arrival of the king, Afonso Dalboquerque set out from the fortress accompanied by all the captains very well appointed, and all the rest of the armed host, and made his way to the tent where the King of Cananor was sitting on the sofa; and behind the king there stood one page with a sword of gold, and another with a scimitar of gold; and

[1] *Cutle*, for *Catre*, a couch or bed. [2] Mahomet Ali (?).

directly Afonso Dalboquerque arrived he went towards the king with great show of courtesy to kiss his hand, and the king, without rising from the sofa, received him with great attention and evident delight.

When the interchange of compliments was over, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that the keys of the fortress should be presented to the king in a washhand basin, worked in the shape of bastions[1], and he took Rodrigo Rabelo, who was the captain of the fortress, by the hand, and told the king to give him those keys; and commanded the captains, who were there present, to perform whatever the king should order him to do, and ever to be obedient to his orders, because that fortress, with all the garrison that were within it, belonged to the King of Cananor by express wish of the King D. Manuel his Lord. And for this cause, he, Afonso, had always desired to be in his company and serve him, and that all his affairs should always be well assisted by him. And that he was so glad to see him, because now he considered the alliance ratified which he had made with the king his lord, and from that time henceforth he would serve him with all his fleets and men which there were in India.

The king returned him great thanks for those kind words, and declared that he truly desired that all Afonso Dalboquerque had said should be so performed, because of the great friendship which he had at heart with the King of Portugal his brother; and whenever it would help him in his affairs he, for his part, would place all his estate at his service every time it should be requested of him to do so. And as for the keys, he said, he would take them into his hands and deliver them to this captain of the king his brother; but on account of the waywardness of affairs lately he had not done so oftener, but, nevertheless he had not ceased to be a very good friend of the Portuguese; and that the captain

[1] *Bacio de agua ás mãos, lavrado de Bastiões.*

of the fortress, who was then present, knew very well how his officers carried on his business, and how he always strove to carry out everything that was asked of him. And from that time henceforward, he said, he would do the same with even greater willingness, because of the great pleasure which it gave him to see Afonso Dalboquerque, and because of the great renown which he had gained at the hands of the Moors. And as this was the first interview which had taken place between them, many things passed from one side to the other with great pleasure and show of much friendship.

On the conclusion of this interview the king took leave of Afonso Dalboquerque and went to the city, and made a present to the captains of three pieces of velvet and ten of camlet,[1] and Afonso Dalboquerque returned to the fortress. And after two other days were passed, Duarte de Lemos arrived, who had left the position of chief captain of the coast of Arabia, with four ships, and in his company came Francisco de Pantoja, who had gone to carry supplies to the fortress of Çocotorá, as I have already related.[2] And Duarte de Lemos brought with him the ship *Meri* which Francisco Pantoja had taken on his way. And when he arrived, Afonso Dalboquerque immediately caused a visit to be made to the ship by Antonio de Lis, who was his scrivener; and after two days had elapsed, Duarte de Lemos went on shore, and Afonso Dalboquerque went with all his captains to receive him on the beach, and they proceeded to the fortress.

After the usual preliminary courtesies had been given and received on both sides, Duarte de Lemos told Afonso Dalboquerque that his coming was occasioned by the great necessity he was in from not having vessels fit for carrying out the duties connected with his chief captainship, and those that he brought with him were merely kept afloat by

[1] *Chamalote*, a sort of stuff made of silk mixed with camel's hair.

[2] See chapter xxiv.

the constant use of their pumps, and he begged him earnestly of his goodness that he would grant him an early settlement of his affairs, and see to the ships which he would give him in order that they might be made ready. He related also to him how D. Afonso de Noronha, his nephew, had set out from Çocotorá, in the course of April last in the ship *Sancta Cruz*, and had taken with him Fernão Jacome, his cousin, and Diogo Correa, and the Reverend Father, Fr. Antonio, and many other persons; and after their departure he had never heard any more news of them; and since, up to the very present time he had never had any message from them, he concluded that they were lost.

Afonso Dalboquerque was very much cast down at this intelligence, for at that season—in consequence of the great difficulty in which the affairs of India were placed—it was a very great loss to him, and it caused him to renew the grief he had experienced at the death of D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew. And after that he had recounted to Duarte de Lemos all that had passed in the city of Goa, and how he had quitted his position there, Afonso Dalboquerque said to him—in the presence of Rodrigo Rabelo, captain of the fortress, and the other captains who were there gathered together—that he begged him of his goodness not to put himself out about anything until the arrival of Gonçalo de Siqueira, for he had received information that this latter was on his way from Portugal as chief captain of a fleet,[1] in order that then he might come to a final determination with respect to the affairs of Goa, and the pacification of the Indian Empire, which was thoroughly excited with the news that had been spread concerning the intended coming of the Rumes.

Duarte de Lemos replied that the chief security of India lay in guarding the gates of the Straits of Méca, wherein there had been as yet no introduction of Portuguese power,

[1] See page 196, note.

although the King D. Manuel had given orders that it should be done. And the cause of this oversight, he declared, was that neither the Viceroy[1] nor he, Afonso Dalboquerque, had sent him the galleys which His Highness had, in his written instructions, commanded to be sent. And as for his remaining where he then was until the arrival of Goncalo de Siqueira, he would do so, he said, as it would be to the service of the king.

At the conclusion of this interview Duarte de Lemos begged Afonso Dalboquerque earnestly of his kindness to pardon Fernão Perez Dandrade and Simão Dandrade, his brother, and the other *fidalgos*, whom he had imprisoned, and order them to be released; and Afonso Dalboquerque, although they well deserved punishment for the deeds which they had done, yet out of desire to carry out the wishes of Duarte de Lemos, commanded that all these men should be set at liberty, and restored to them their captaincies, excepting only Jorge de Fogaça, for to this one, as ringleader of the insubordination which they had evinced towards him in the river [at Goa], he would not restore his office. After leaving them all in his house, Duarte de Lemos returned to his ship, and thither Afonso Dalboquerque ordered to be sent all that was required for his table, and for all those who messed with him, in the same style as he himself was served, and he always held him in high esteem and as one exercising the authority of chief captain of his fleet and men, with the understanding that he would help him in the Goa business.

When Duarte de Lemos had returned to his ship, Francisco Pantoja went tō visit Afonso Dalboquerque, for he had not seen him since his arrival, and recounted to him the events of his voyage, and how he had on the way captured the ship *Meri* from the King of Cambaya, and on arriving at Çocotora, Duarte de Lemos had laid hands upon it and

[1] D. Francisco Dalmeida.

all it contained—which was very valuable—declaring that it belonged to him because it had been taken within the limits of his chief captaincy. And, he continued, although he had addressed many remonstrances to Duarte de Lemos with respect to this matter, to the end that he should neither meddle with the ship nor with the cargo she carried, because it appertained to his lordship [Afonso Dalboquerque] who was the Captain-general of the Indies, and under whose flag he, Francisco Pantoja, was sailing; nevertheless, Duarte de Lemos would not be convinced by these arguments, but he had taken the ship away from him, and her merchandise as well, and disposed of it all just as he pleased.

Then the Factor of Cananor, who happened to be present, said to Afonso Dalboquerque that the ship in question and her cargo with which she was loaded belonged to the king, and he hoped he, Afonso, would give orders for her to be delivered over to him, in order that he might arrange the proper distribution of it; because the officers whom Duarte de Lemos had placed in her would not attend to any of his orders. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that Duarte de Lemos had likewise deprived him, too, of the chief share of that ship which would have come to him by right, but that he should hold his tongue, in order to avoid coming to any rupture about it with him; and since Duarte de Lemos had already taken the best share of her, they must get on the best way they could, for there was an end of his interest in the matter, and he would have nothing to do with it. And whereas Duarte de Lemos was not in a very good humour when he arrived, because Afonso Dalboquerque had neither sent him the ships which he had applied for through Vasco da Silveira,[1] nor gone and effected an union with him according to the letter in which he had sent his word that he would do so, he grew very angry at

[1] See chapter xiv.

these words, which he was informed Afonso Dalboquerque had said to the Factor, although he pretended not to know anything about them.

CHAPTER XLV.

How an ambassador from the King of Cambaya arrived at Cananor to treat for peace with the great Afonso Dalboquerque; and the reply he received; and what passed upon this with Duarte de Lemos.

After the great Afonso Dalboquerque had concluded the matters with Duarte de Lemos which I have pointed out in the foregoing chapter, there arrived an ambassador from the King of Cambaya, who went immediately to the fortress, where Afonso Dalboquerque was expecting him, with all the captains and *Fidalgos*, except Duarte de Lemos, who was in his ship and remained there without coming to land. And when the ambassador delivered his messages to Afonso Dalboquerque from the King of Cambaya, he gave him also a letter of credentials, and told him that the king his lord was very desirous of having peace and alliance with the King of Portugal; and that many times already he had sent to say so; and that now he had been informed that his lordship, Afonso Dalboquerque, was making himself ready to pass through the Straits of Méca,[1] and if it were true, he begged him earnestly to arrange so that in his journey he should pass by his land, and he would come and converse with him in any of his ports that might be selected, and there they would settle the terms of their mutual alliances. And, he went on to declare, that the Portuguese captains had captured one of his ships, and he begged Afonso Dalboquerque of his kindness to order that it should be given back to him. And the King desired to

[1] See vol. i, p. 58, note 1.

acquaint him that he had under his protection a few Portuguese who had been wrecked in a ship which had run ashore on the coast in one of his ports, and he would immediately send them on to him.

And when he had made an end of his relation, the ambassador put into the hands of Afonso Dalboquerque a letter from the Christians who were there in captivity, wherein they showed how D. Afonso, his nephew, had sailed out from Cocotorá in the ship *Sancta Cruz;* and while they were making their passage across the gulf of India they took a very richly laden ship of Cambaya; and after having taken her, being as far advanced upon their course as the shallows of Padua,[1] so fierce a storm broke over them that they scudded along under bare poles, and at length reached a port of the Guzarates called Nabande,[2] and there they ran the ship upon some shallows, and it was wrecked. And, the letter continued, when the ship had struck,[3] D. Afonso and five or six men, thinking that they could save themselves by swimming because they were close to the shore, cast themselves into the sea on boards, and because the storm raged very violently, and the sea was running so boisterously, they were overwhelmed in such wise that all of them were drowned, while those who remained on board the ship—about fifty in number—waiting for the low tide, escaped with their lives. And when they had got to land, they were immediately taken prisoners in consequence of the representations of twenty Moors whom they had with them, men who had belonged to the ship which had been taken as a prize. This ship, in which Fernão Jacome was acting as captain the same storm had driven to the country of the Hidalcão, and the Moors of the land had taken her and all

[1] See p. 218, note. [2] See vol. i, pp. 138, 139.

[3] *E que como a não tocára*, a misprint of the latest edition for *e que como a não tocára*, in which latter sense I have translated the passage; taken as printed in the text, it has no intelligible meaning. The quarto edition has *nao*.

the cargo she carried, putting Fernão Jacome and the Christians who were on board to death. And the letter went on to relate that when Gopicaiça, chief *Alguazil* of the King of Cambaya, was informed that the Portuguese were in captivity in those parts, and suffering ill-treatment at the hands of the people of the land, he had prevailed upon the king to send for them, and they were now dwelling in Champanel, and begged his lordship Afonso Dalboquerque to devise some plan whereby he might procure their release.

And in addition to this letter from the captives, the ambassador gave another to Afonso Dalboquerque from Gopicaiça, the text of which is here subjoined :—

LETTER FROM GOPICAIÇA, CHIEF ALGUAZIL OF THE KING OF CAMBAYA, TO THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE.

True friendship, such as I have in my soul, Afonso Dalboquerque ! Chief Captain, may your good fortune ever be greater than that of Gopicaiça, who dwells in the city of Champanel ; many times he recommends himself to you. After due commendations, I give you to know that one of your ships fought with a ship from Paverij, and took her, and carried her away to Cochim, and while they were on their voyage thither, a storm struck them, and your ship reached the shore in a harbour of Guzarate, where she was lost, and there came in her about sixty Portuguese more or less, and twenty persons belonging to the ship of Paverij. I was informed that the men of your ship had put to death certain persons of the ship of Paverij, which they had taken, and those who came with them told it to the people of the said harbour where your ship ran ashore, for which reason the people of the harbour desired to kill them ; but I, when I heard this news, laid the matter before the king, and he issued a command that they should be immediately brought

before him. Then Caixá, an *alcaide* of Nabande, sent them loaded with irons to the king, and I presented them to him, and he forthwith ordered their irons to be struck off, and commanded that they should be supplied with everything that was necessary for their maintenance; and your own people are writing letters to you whereby you will know that all this really took place. And know you, also, that in the kingdom of Guzarate a true friend of yours am I; and everything which shall be necessary between you and the king in respect of alliance and friendship that will I accomplish. It is necessary that you should send hither one of your people, a Christian and a trustworthy man, with an assurance that your ships shall not cruise about, ruining our maritime traffic and robbing in the seas; and then we will immediately give orders that your Christians be released, and your ships shall be able to go and to come unharmed to and from the ports of Cambaya, buying and selling in them, and all the ports of Cambaya shall be at your disposal; and this your man you can send in a ship to the port of Suret[1], and he might bring some good thing of service to the king, and I will present him to the king, and I will befriend him, and I will conclude matters with him in such wise that the ports of Cambaya be at your service, and you shall know that my friendship is true, and in this manner it will be augmented.

When Duarte de Lemos was informed by Jeronymo Teixeira and Francisco de Sá (who were the authors of all these dissensions which had arisen between him and Afonso Dalboquerque) that the ambassador of the King of Cambaya had arrived, and Afonso Dalboquerque had received his embassy—seeing that he already could hardly put up with his position, and by nature was of an obstinate and proud turn of mind—he came on shore and said to Afonso Dalboquerque, in the presence of Rodrigo Rabelo, that the boundary of his

[1] Surat, 21 deg. 10 min. N., 72 deg. 32 min. E.

captaincy extended as far as the coast of Cambaya, and for this reason the message from the King of Cambaya, and the letter of his *Alguazil*, belonged to him, and Afonso ought not to have received nor conversed with him without first of all having shown this courtesy to him.

When Afonso Dalboquerque perceived the direction which Duarte de Lemos was taking, he replied to him very dispassionately: "Sir, let us rescue the captives who are over there, and help me to punish thoroughly well the Moors of Goa who have disconcerted my plans[1], and let us for the present leave off thinking about these governments and commands; and it would be much better, since I have the power and the men of the king our lord, if you were to favour this business, and if we were to reply to the King of Cambaya in such terms, that we could get our Christians out of his power; and if you were not to be continually fostering dissensions with me."

Duarte de Lemos told him that, although he had the men and the power from the king, yet he himself was chief captain of the coast of Cambaya, and to him appertained these matters; for this reason, therefore, he ought not to have received the ambassador, but have remitted all the affair to him. And so he went on using very strong language and words full of pride, but Afonso Dalboquerque put up with everything, and at last replied: "Sir Duarte de Lemos, I well know the answer which these words of yours would have deserved, if I had not been captain-general of the Indies; but since it so happens that I am in that office, I wish I could prevail upon you to see things as I do, and I remember that which Tully said to Cæsar, when he begged him to pardon Marcellus, whom indeed he was unwilling to pardon, '*Vince te ipsum, qui vincis omnia!*'—Do thou, who conqueredst all things, overcome thyself also!"

And when Afonso Dalboquerque had spoken these words,

[1] *Que me quebrâram a cabeça.*

he dismissed him, and Duarte de Lemos returned to his own ship, and remained in her ever afterwards with the title of Chief Captain, until Gonçalo de Siqueira arrived; and thither Jeronymo Teixeira and Francisco de Sá used to resort to set in motion their artful plans. And Afonso Dalboquerque wished to punish them for these disturbances, and for other matters which he had already for a long time experienced at their hands; but because he was desirous of utilising their assistance in the Goa enterprise, he left them alone unpunished until they should get to Portugal.

As soon as this difficulty had quieted down, Afonso Dalboquerque summoned before him the ambassador of the King of Cambaya, in order to set him on his way, and told him to relate to his king that he was busying himself in getting ready for a renewed attack upon Goa, and when he had brought that enterprise to a happy termination, he intended to pay him a visit, and settle the terms of an alliance, for the King of Portugal his lord would appreciate his alliance very highly; and whenever he might have need of his fleet and his soldiers, he would be prepared to serve him in all things; and then he begged him of his kindness to send back the captives who were there.

And having dispatched the ambassador, he treated him with every consideration in the king's name, and gave him this letter for Gopicaiça, by way of reply to the one he had received:—

Letter from the Great Afonso Dalboquerque to the Chief Alguazil of the King of Cambaya.

"Highly honoured and good cavalier, chief *Alguazil* of the King of Cambaya, I, Afonso Dalboquerque, captain-general and governor of the Indies and of the kingdom and lordship of Ormuz and of the kingdom and lordship of Goa, for the King D. Manuel our lord, send you my recommendations

and my friendship. Your messenger reached me, and was well received and honoured; and he gave me your letters, whereby I was much pleased to know that the King of Cambaya, your lord, desires to have peace with the king our lord; and I saw as well in your letters that these men of the king our lord, and of this ship which was lost there, had been well received by the king, and succoured and well treated, and in like manner as this it is to be hoped that kings, who are such great lords and who possess such great authority and so much land and so many people as the King of Cambaya does, will do honour to the people of Portugal and of the king our lord. As soon as I received this news, which you wrote to me, I immediately commanded that due respect should be paid to the people who were taken in the ship *Meri*, which had been taken by one of my ships which I sent to Çocotorá; and the chief captain and governor of those parts, who is now here with me, brought her with him. Now let the king consider what he will command to be done to the ship and to the Moors, for I shall be pleased to serve him in everything; and so also will the chief captain of those parts do, who is here together with me. Your reply will find me along the coast as far as Goa, and I shall receive it from you as from one who is my friend. I should be very happy if the King of Cambaya would send me these Christians, for in all other matters I shall be happy to please him, and all shall be done according to his desire. Yea, would to God that an alliance were made between him and the king my lord, wherewith your king ought to be very greatly pleased, because he would have his harbours safe, and his ships and people could navigate the sea. And I trust that I shall arrive close to his territory, and I should be glad to receive a message from him to know with how good a will I forward his business, and how pleased I am to serve him in that which lies within my power. And should he make peace and

alliance with the king my lord, I will assist him with all the king's power and people that I have in India. Look you well to your reply; and if you command anything of me, write to me about it. I shall be glad to have you for a friend. Written in Cananor, the sixteenth of September."

CHAPTER XLVI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent Simão Martinz, and Garcia de Sousa, to watch for the ships which sailed from Méca, that they might obtain certain intelligence of the coming of the Rumes; and of the request made to him by Diogo Mendez that he might be allowed to prosecute his voyage to Malaca.

After that the great Afonso Dalboquerque had set the ambassador of the King of Cambaya on his way, out of a desire to obtain exact information of the coming of the Rumes, and in order to make up his mind what line of action to undertake, and also in order that during these days which he had to occupy in getting his fleet ready to return against Goa, there should not pass any ships laden with pepper for the Straits, for it was now the sixteenth day of the month of September, which is the time in which the ships that set out from the Straits arrive off the coast of India—he made up his mind to send certain ships to cruise about in different parts, in order thereby to become more certainly informed of the coming of the enemy. And for this purpose he lost no time in forwarding Simão Martinz, in the position of chief captain of three vessels, and with him Francisco Marrecos, and Antonio de Matos, with orders to proceed to the *Monte de Deli*[1], and cruise about in that latitude until the close of the month of September; and if any

[1] This is the *Montedelli* of Fernão Vaz, 1546; apparently on the coast of India between *Mangalor* and *Cananor*. See page 169, note; also Lord Stanley's *Correa*, p. 145.

of them were to capture any ship from the Straits, he was to make his way at once with his prize to Cananor.

As soon as Simão Martinz had set forth with these vessels in his company, Afonso Dalboquerque sent for Garcia de Sousa, and told him that he had correct news of the departure of some ships from Méca, bound for Calicut, and that he was to get himself ready with three vessels, which would be put under his command, to cruise about from the shallows of Padua[1] to the Isles[2] of Panane; for in this crossing and latitude the navigation of the ships bound from the straits to Calicut was most likely to occur.

Thereupon Garcia de Sousa told him, that he was much astonished at his Lordship sending him on that undertaking, as he had already appointed Simão Martinz to be chief captain of three vessels which were to cruise in the same latitude, and that he would not go there, nor undertake such an enterprise as that one was, unless it was arranged that Simão Martinz should be placed under his orders and sail under his captaincy. But because this behaviour did not arise naturally from Garcia de Sousa, who was a very good man and a very brave cavalier, one who had served the King very well in all the undertakings in which he had been engaged, Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he begged him of his goodness to do this service for the King's sake and not to take any heed about rivalries, for Simão Martinz would cruise about in one place and he in another; and to be on his guard against the interested counsel of busybodies (for he was a man who could revolutionise India); and to bear in mind how bad he had always thought the underhand tales which João da Nova and the others who were of his party fostered between himself (Afonso Dalboquerque)

[1] The Padua Bank, or Munyal Par, Laccadive Islands, off the Indian Coast. 13 deg. N., 72 deg. 20 min. E.

[2] *Ilheo.* This word appears to signify a small uninhabited island, whereas *ilha* is an island in a more general sense, like the Latin *insula.*

and the Viceroy, and not to desire now to forfeit the honours he had already gained. And as Garcia de Sousa was desirous of serving the King, he performed all that Afonso Dalboquerque desired of him, and set sail with instructions how he was to act, wherein he was earnestly enjoined to cruise about and keep a sharp look-out, for information had reached him that in company with these ships of Calicut some of the Rumes also were coming.

Three or four days after Garcia de Sousa and Simão Martinz had departed on their voyages, Diogo Mendez came to land with his captains, and proceeded to the fortress where Afonso Dalboquerque was, and reminded him that he had promised, while at Anjadiva, to dispatch him, and give him pilots, and everything else that was necessary for him to make his journey to Malaca, as soon as they arrived at Cananor; and as there was now an opportunity, he begged him of his goodness to dispatch him, and give him permission to sail away. Afonso Dalboquerque replied, that after his arrival here he had been constantly occupied, not only with the King of Cananor, but also in dispatching certain captains whom he had sent to guard that coast; and on this account he had not had any time for communing with the captains: but now he would order them to be summoned to meet, and he would discuss with them this business of his, and would send him a reply in accordance with their opinions.

Diogo Mendez then said that matters which had been arranged by the King our lord ought not to be made to depend upon the opinions of any other persons, but all that remained to do was to comply with the commands of his Highness and his covenants and instructions; for, in so doing much was involved: and he desired of him, on the part of the King, to permit him to prosecute his voyage in accordance with the orders under which he had come out from Portugal. For, he said, in the covenant which the

King had made with him and the merchants, he had been all along exempted from the jurisdiction of Afonso Dalboquerque, as could be seen by an inspection of the papers which he there and then laid before him.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied, that he had no necessity to examine the papers, for the King would not exempt him, Diogo Mendez, from his own governor, if there should be any need in Indian affairs (as there was sure to be), and it was this very point that he desired to discuss with the captains. And when Diogo Mendez perceived that Afonso Dalboquerque was determined not to give him any answer until he had first of all communed with the captains, he no longer cared to insist upon being dispatched away, and returned to his ship.

CHAPTER XLVII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque deliberated with the captains, whether he should permit Diogo Mendez to go to Malaca or not; and what conclusions were arrived at, and what happened in regard to Diogo Mendez.

At the close of the interview which the great Afonso Dalboquerque held with Diogo Mendez, he gave an account to the captains (in the presence of Rodrigo Rabelo, captain of the fortress of Cananor) of all that had passed between himself and Diogo Mendez up to that time. And when they had discussed first one thing and then another, they agreed that in consideration of the events which had taken place with Diogo Lopez de Siqueira at Malaca,—who carried with him five ships and four hundred men,—and of the small strength of the fleet and men and other necessary things which Diogo Mendez brought with the intention of taking in hand so extensive an undertaking as that was which was contemplated, and also in consideration of the

news of the coming of the Rumes, and that it was known for certain that there had set out from Suez fifty sail and ten thousand men,—in consideration, I say, of all these inconvenient events, they decided that Diogo Mendez ought not to go to Malaca, but that he ought to wait until the month of April, for by that time the affairs of India would have been reduced to their settled state.

And when this had been thus arranged, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that Diogo Mendez and his captains should be called, and he told them that he had recounted the matter to Rodrigo Rabelo, captain of the fortress, and the rest of the captains, and all considered that it was very important for the service of the King that he should not be permitted to go, as well on account of the certain information respecting the coming of the Rumes, as also because the affairs of Malaca were so badly circumstanced that it required more force than that which he, Diogo Mendez, had brought from Portugal to pacify that country. For, he said, Diogo Lopez de Siqueira had returned from that region with his plans disconcerted[1] and sixty of his men killed or taken captives, and he himself had run great risk of losing all his fleet, if it had not been that he was advised in time of the treachery which had been arranged against him: and since the affairs of Malaca were in the state which he knew them to be, it was necessary that he should go to their assistance with sufficient forces, and undertake their settlement in such a manner that the powers there would be immediately compelled to make terms with him: and this it was, he declared, which would be more serviceable to the King than the mere loading of his ships well or badly. And, he continued, this reason alone was enough to make him think it unadvisable to carry out this journey at this time; not to mention another reason, of much greater weight, which was, the present state of Indian affairs, and the confirmed report of the coming of the

[1] *Com a cabeça quebrada; lit.*, with his head broken.

Rumes, and Goa risen up in successful rebellion, and the Kings of Cambaya and of Calicut, and the Rumes, all united in one body with that city against us, with many ships built all along the coast as far as Diu to co-operate with them against us. And therefore he would beg Diogo Mendez earnestly of his goodness to enter more heartily into this business at present in hand [the taking of Goa] than he had hitherto done, for thereby he would be really performing good service to the King our Lord, seeing that with India lost it would not be much use for the King to hold Malaca.

Diogo Mendez replied, that he was so desirous of performing the service of the King, that he would yield to no one in this respect; and, therefore, truly it appeared to him that nothing would so much conduce to this service as that he should be quickly dispatched to prosecute his voyage, in accordance with instructions which he had brought from Portugal. For, if he could not load his ships in Malaca, he could do so in Samatra or in Pegú, and therefore he would beg him of his kindness not to interpose difficulties in the way of his dispatch; because, although the affairs of Diogo Lopez had turned out as had been alleged, yet he hoped, with God's aid, that on arriving at Malaca he would be able to dispose his forces in such a manner that not only would he be able to get his ships laden, but he expected to rescue the Portuguese who were now in captivity there. And, he continued, seeing that the King in the letter which he had written to him, had especially dwelt upon the rapidity of his dispatch, Afonso Dalboquerque ought not to be so firmly set upon detaining him, because in India there were many ships and men, and the fleet of Gonçalo de Siqueira which was on the point of arriving, so that these ships of his might well be dispensed with.

The reply of Diogo Mendez somewhat exasperated Afonso Dalboquerque, and he said he knew very well the necessities

that India was labouring under, and in respect of them he would undertake to give an account to the King his Lord, and therefore Diogo Mendez should not set his mind upon going to Malaca,—for it was now thus settled; but he would send him thither in April, and send in company with him four additional ships well supplied with arms and victuals, for in this wise he could go safely; whereas it was unsafe to attempt the voyage in four ships not much better than sides of bark, as his were, badly munitioned with everything that was necessary for the success of an undertaking like this. And this he said he would undertake to do for him, if the affairs of Malaca at that season were to improve their aspect.

Diogo Mendez answered that, as Afonso Dalboquerque had made up his mind not to suffer him to go to Malaca, he could certainly, in his capacity as Captain-General of the King of Portugal in the parts of India, exercise this power, but it would be against his will and that of his captains, for his only object in coming was for the service of the King; and, therefore, if Afonso Dalboquerque considered that by his remaining in India he would be doing better service, he would do so willingly. And so much cavilling about this could have been dispensed with; for he well knew that he would gain more by remaining where he was than by going to Malaca. And, on the conclusion of these debates, from that day forward, Diogo Mendez did not care to talk any more to Afonso Dalboquerque about his dispatch.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

How Lourenço Moreno, with two other vessels of the company of Gonçalo de Siqueira, reached Cananor: and how the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered him to conclude peace with the Rulers of Baticalá; and of the letter which Afonso Dalboquerque wrote to Timoja through him.

While the great Afonso Dalboquerque was expecting every day the arrival of Gonçalo de Siqueira, with the intention of taking advantage of his coming to determine finally as to his return against Goa,—when it was now the eighth day of the month of September,—Lourenço Moreno, captain of the ship *Botafogo*,[1] arrived: he had come to be the factor of Cochim, and in company with him came João de Aveiro in the *Bastiaina*,[2] and Lourenço Lopez, nephew of Thomé Lopez, in another ship; and upon the same day that they arrived, Lourenço Moreno went immediately to land to see Afonso Dalboquerque, and after delivering to him a packet of letters which he carried from the King D. Manuel for him, he informed him that Gonçalo de Siqueira had set out from Portugal with seven ships, having very good soldiers on board; and as they were all sailing along in company at the *Cabo dos Correntes*,[3] so fierce a storm came upon them that it had scattered all the ships, and he himself indeed, with the two ships mentioned above, had run before the storm and reached Mozambique, and remained there for several days; but when they saw that Gonçalo de Siqueira

[1] *Botafogo;* a long stick with a match-rope fixed at the end to fire off cannon.—*Vieyra.* Perhaps here the best English equivalent is *Spit-fire*, from *Botar fogo*, rather than *Linstock*, which would be the more literal translation.

[2] *Bastiaina;* probably a feminine appellation signifying a woman of *Bastia*, the capital city of Corsica.

[3] Cape Corrientes, on the coast of Mozambique, 24 deg. 10 min. S., 35 deg. 12 min. E.

was still behind, and that the season was growing late, they had crossed over to India, but in consideration of the latitude wherein he had parted company with the others, and because the weather which had brought him to Moçambique was also favourable for their voyage, he was of opinion that it would not be long before they also arrived.

This news which Lourenço Moreno brought concerning the fleet which Diogo Lopez was conducting greatly pleased Afonso Dalboquerque, for he trusted to avail himself of its help in the Goa business. And after conversing respecting many occurrences in Portugal, Afonso Dalboquerque recounted to Lourenço Moreno the troubles which had happened at Goa; and how he was making himself ready to return against that city again. And when these conversations were over, he dismissed Lourenço Moreno to go and rest himself after the fatigues of the voyage; and with the object of not losing time in respect of what he had determined to do, he summoned Duarte de Lemos and all the rest of the captains, and informed them that when he was in Goa, Condanechatim[1] and Naodaquiçar[2], the rulers of Baticalá, had sent a messenger to him, saying that they desired to make peace with him, and to be in obedience to the King of Portugal, but up to that time he had sent no reply to them, because he had no ships which he could send to that place; yet now that Lourenço Moreno had arrived with two very large ships in his company, he could now go and settle this matter, and on the way take the ships laden with supplies for that fleet, which he was preparing for the renewal of the attack upon Goa; and therefore he would have them declare what they considered he ought to do.

Thereupon Duarte de Lemos, who was opposed to the policy of Afonso Dalboquerque, and other captains who were

[1] *Condane chatim—i.e., Condane*, the Merchant. See page 130, note 3.

[2] *Naoda quiçar—i.e., Nakhoda Quiçar;* Quiçar, the Captain. See vol. , page 227, note 2.

also on this man's side, declared to him that with these ships of burthen he ought not to desire to do anything, except to send them on to Cochim to load, and depute Lourenço Moreno to superintend their loading, for he it was who was to be the Factor; and by no means to appoint him to the performance of so doubtful an enterprise as this was, for it might so fall out that the ships would not return in time to take in their cargoes. The other captains, however, said that since the ships would have to wait for Gonçalo de Siqueira, the lord governor could well send Lourenço Moreno to Baticalá to conclude the business, for there would be no time lost in so doing, and it would be very advantageous to have a treaty of peace with Baticalá, in order to be able to obtain from that place any supplies which might be required during the retaking of Goa.

In this latter opinion Afonso Dalboquerque coincided, so he sent for Lourenço Moreno, and sent him forth immediately to go and conclude this affair, and with him he sent also the two ships which had accompanied him from Portugal, and a Moor of Cananor, named Porcassem[1], as interpreter, to go on shore and negotiate the matter; and he gave to Lourenço Moreno written instructions of what he was to do, and certain memoranda of the conditions on which he was to conclude peace. Of these the principal articles were, that the rulers were to give him a house, built at their own expense, of stone and mortar, wherein the Factor of the King of Portugal could keep his merchandise secure; and they were also to pay in every year, by way of tribute, two thousand bags[2] of rice. And he ordered him that, having completed this business with the utmost alacrity, he was to proceed direct to Onor, and put himself in communication with Timoja, and deliver over to him Lourenço da Silva, and Fernão Vaz, whom he sent to that

[1] *Porcassem*, for *Abu'l-Casim*, softened into *Bul-Kāsim*; called *Pocaracem* in chapter li.

[2] *Fardos*, each weighing forty-two pounds.

prince to occupy the position of captains of the Hindoos who were to wage war with those of Goa: and to these two captains he ordered that certain Portuguese should be delivered, to be carried with them, and saddles, bridles, and all other sorts of horse furniture, and he gave Lourenço Moreno this letter, which is given here below, to deliver to Timoja.

LETTER OF THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE TO TIMOJA.

"Honoured Timoja, chief alguazil and captain of the people of Goa, and lord of the lands of Cintácora, for the king our lord, I, Afonso Dalboquerque, captain-general and governor of the Indies, and of Persia, and of the kingdom and lordship of Ormuz, and of the kingdom and lordship of Goa, for the king our lord, send you my salutations. You know well my determination, which is to besiege Goa with your advice and help, and I trust in Our Lord that we shall quickly gain possession of that place. I should be glad if you would show favour towards this people who are engaged in war against those of Goa, and permit them to enjoy and consume the revenues of the land. To you I send Lourenço da Silva and Fernão Vaz, who are good cavaliers and captains, to command these people who are engaged in war: do you send them at once to the spot where the people are, and grant them some number whereof they may be captains, for they are good cavaliers; and I trust that they will perform their duty well. I shall soon be with you. I should be much pleased if you would send me, by one of your *fustas*, news of the way in which the land is going on, and what sort of army there is in Goa, and with what sort of soldiers you are able to help me. And as for those supplies which I desired you to get in readiness for me, do you order them to be delivered over to Lourenço Moreno, that he may bring them to me, for I am in need of them. Kiss for me

the hands of the King of Garçopa, and tell him that I beg he will assist me with all his power, for I trust very quickly that we shall cast out the Moors from the land, and that I will help him with my person, my horses, arms, and people to gain much land from them, and I will make him a greater lord than all the others who are round about him; therefore I beg him of his goodness to favour this people who fight for us, and to have no fear of the Moors, for he shall soon see them all either destroyed, and all his estate ruined."

As soon as Lourenço Moreno had got his ships in readiness, he took leave of Afonso Dalboquerque, and proceeded to embark, and shaped his course straight for Baticalá.

CHAPTER XLIX.

How Simão Martinz captured a ship which came from Méca, richly laden, and brought her to Cananor; and of the news which two Jews, who were taken in her, related to the great Afonso Dalboquerque.

Five days after the departure of Lourenço Moreno for Baticalá, Simão Martinz arrived, whom Afonso Dalboquerque had sent to reconnoitre the ships which were coming out of the Straits (as I have already related), and with him he brought a ship which he had captured in the latitude of Monte de Deli,[1] bound from Méca to Calicut, laden with much merchandise. And, among other captives who were taken in her, there were two Castilian Jews, who declared for certain news that the Rumes were not able to set out that year, because the Grand Sultan had been engaged in serious dissensions with the governors of Damascus and Alepo, and there was no time for him to make ready.

Afonso Dalboquerque inquired of them whether many

[1] See page 217, note.

ships had sailed from the Straits for India, and they informed him that they knew nothing of any other ships than that one of theirs, and one other which was coming on behind, much more richly laden; for they had come by land to embark at the Island of Çuaquem[1], and there they had spoken with a Christian who was named Fernão Gomez,[2] and with a Moor who was in his company,—and Fernão Gomez had declared to them that his other companion was dead; and from that point he and the Moor set out on the road to Cairo; but after the lapse of a few days these returned again to Çuaquem; and because they could not agree respecting the road which they were to take, Fernão Gomez had separated himself from the Moor, and made his way to Judá,[3] and the Moor had turned into the interior parts of Çuaquem, and thenceforth nothing more was known of them.

Then Afonso Dalboquerque asked them what news they had of the Preste João,[4] and of his country. The Jews replied that they knew nothing more of him than that each year there went a caravan from Çuaquem, very near to the Red Sea, and it made its way to Mount Sinay, and thence straight to Jerusalem; and in company with this caravan there always went a captain with cavalry soldiers in his guard, on account of the Arabs;[5] and because the country is desert, and there are no means of obtaining supplies of food by the way, the members of the caravan took many camels loaded with victuals; and that into the Island of Çuaquem they imported many spices from India, and there

[1] *Cuaquem*, see *Suaque*, and the *Costa de suaque*, on the African side of the *Mar roxo*, in Berthelot's chart, vol. i, p. 80. It is now Suakin, in Lower Nubia, 19 deg. 6 min. N., 37 deg. 23 min. E.

[2] For the incidents relating to this journey of Fernão Gomez, see Vol. I, chapter liv.

[3] *Judá*. See vol. i, p. 234.

[4] Prester John, a favourite myth of Oriental voyagers and travellers from the days of Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville.

[5] *Por amor dos alarves*.

they embarked in shallops[1] (which are a kind of barques *(barcos)*, like *caravelas*, which ply in the Straits), and were carried to Coçaer[2]—a port of the Red Sea—and from this port took them by land to Caná,[3] which is on the banks of the river Nile, about three days' journey from Coçaer, and there they took passage in barges *(barcas)*, and in a few days' time reached Cairo.

And these two Jews turned Christians: to the one of them was given the name of Francisco Dalboquerque, and to the other Alexandre Dataide. And Afonso Dalboquerque, as long as he lived, employed them as interpreters, especially Alexandre Dataide, because he knew many languages, and had a great aptitude for business. And after the death of Afonso Dalboquerque, they went to Portugal, in the time of the King D. Manuel, and from that country returned to India, and from India they proceeded to Cairo, where they again became Jews.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque had been informed of the other ship which was coming from Méca in company with this one, he ordered Simão Martinz to return again immediately, and cruise about in that latitude where he had fallen upon the ship which he had captured; and he ordered also Rodrigo Rabelo, captain of Cananor, to embark without loss of time in the ship which had been taken from the Rumes, and proceed to the sea-coast of the Monte de Deli, to look out for that ship, and in his company he sent Francisco Serrão and Alvaro Paçanha, in the two *caravelas*, and Afonso Pessoa in the *fusta*; and he commanded Rodrigo Rabelo that in case he should come up with Gárcia

[1] *Gelnas*; cf. *Jelua*, vol. i, p. 226, note.

[2] *Coçaer*; Coser, on the African side of the Red Sea, between *tera do egito*, and *aguada do dezafio*, in the chart of Fernão Vaz; now Kosseir, Kossayr, or Cosire, in Philoteras, Egypt, 26 deg. 5 min. N., 24 deg. 16 min. E.

[3] *Caná*, now Keneh, or Geneh, the ancient *Cænopolis*, 26 deg. 11 min. N., 32 deg. 45 min. E.; nearly opposite Dendera or Tentyris.

de Sousa and Simão Martinz, who were cruising about there, all three should take good counsel of what they ought to do, in order to get possession of this ship. And Rodrigo Rabelo set out, and seven or eight days afterwards he and Garcia de Sousa and Simão Martinz returned, and told Afonso Dalboquerque that along the whole of that coast there was no news of any ship which was coming from Méca, except only that one which Simão Martinz had already captured.

On the arrival of these captains at Cananor, because several days had elapsed, during which Diogo Mendez had not come to shore, Lourenço de Paiva recommended Afonso Dalboquerque to look well to the actions of Diogo Mendez, for Jeronymo Teixeira had told him that the captain was getting himself ready and had determined to make his way to Malaca. And Afonso Dalboquerque, who thought this was a true tale, immediately went that very night to the quay with the *fidalgos* and cavaliers who were with him, and ordered Rodrigo Rabelo to get into a boat manned with soldiers, and Pero Dalpoem, *Ouvidor* of India, in another, and to board the ship of Diogo Mendez, and summon him, on the part of Afonso Dalboquerque, and bring all his captains, masters, and pilots under arrest.

When Diogo Mendez reached the fortress, Afonso Dalboquerque said that he was very much surprised at his wishing to go away to Malaca with his ships and men, without permission, seeing that it had been decided in a council that the king's service required that he should remain in India, and not go to that port. Diogo Mendez replied that he had never imagined such a thing, but, on the contrary, he had told his captains and merchants who composed the expedition that he had to put himself at the obedience of Afonso Dalboquerque, and do all that should be required of him; and that he, Afonso, ought not to believe that a man in such a position as he was would attempt to do anything which

would render it necessary to summon him in such a manner; and since he did not care to grant him permission to prosecute his voyage, he had better send and take possession of the fleet, and give an account of it to the king our lord; and that for the future he would be there under his orders, ready to do whatever was required of him. And at the end of all these arguments Afonso Dalboquerque required of him an oath of fealty, and commanded the *Ouvidor* to demand the same of the other captains in his company, that under the severest penalty they were not to depart from him without his permission; and every one promised, except Pero Coresma, who declared that Diogo Mendez was his chief captain, and he would not take an oath of fealty to anyone else but to him.

Therefore Afonso Dalboquerque ordered Pero Coresma to be imprisoned in the castle, and there he remained under arrest until the following day, when some of the captains begged his liberation, and Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders for his release and the taking of his oath of fealty like the others. And he ordered Pero Dalpoem to notify to the pilots and masters that under penalty of death and confiscation of their property, they should not stir from their quarters without his express orders. And when an official statement of all this affair had been drawn up, they returned to their ships.

And after the lapse of two or three days, Afonso Dalboquerque discovered that this which had been reported to him was untrue, and that Jeronymo Teixeira had concocted it because Diogo Mendez had fallen into disagreement with him. So when he knew this, he sent for Diogo Mendez, and earnestly begged his pardon for that which he had done to him, and declared that the fault really lay in his not informing him of the quarrelling of Jeronymo Teixeira; and he would promise him that when the Goa business was completed, he would set him out rightly on his voyage, and give him pilots and everything that he required for his

passage. Yet with all these compliments, Afonso Dalboquerque did not cancel the oath of fealty which Diogo Mendez had taken, nor the penalty which had been imposed upon the pilots and masters.

CHAPTER L.

How Gonçalo de Sequeira reached Cananor; of the council held by the great Afonso Dalboquerque with the captains, respecting the return to Goa; and of the news he had concerning the death of the King of Cochim, and what he did thereupon.

When all these affairs which I have related had passed away, there arrived Gonçalo de Sequeira at Cananor, on the sixteenth day of the month of September, of the year 'ten:—he had set out from the kingdom of Portugal for India as chief captain of seven ships—and at his arrival, Afonso Dalboquerque was greatly pleased, and returned many thanks to Our Lord, because at the very juncture when he had determined to make another attack upon Goa, no less than fourteen ships had arrived in India, wherein were about one thousand five hundred Portuguese, with whom he could undertake anything, however great it might be. And of these fourteen ships the chief captains were Gonçalo de Sequeira, Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos (as has already been related), and João Serrão, with three vessels which the King D. Manuel sent to examine and sound the entrance into the Straits of the Red Sea.

The same day that Gonçalo de Sequeira arrived he went at once to land to converse with Afonso Dalboquerque, who came down with all his captains and *fidalgos*, who were there, to meet him on the quay, and escorted him to the fortress. And after everyone had talked about the news from Portugal, Gonçalo de Sequeira gave to Afonso Dalboquerque the letters which he brought from the King D. Manuel for him,

and one as well for Duarte de Lemos, which was immediately forwarded to him at the ship wherein he was; in which letter the King desired him to deliver over to Afonso Dalboquerque all his fleet and men, and to return to Portugal, and Afonso Dalboquerque, to give him a passage home in a ship for himself and his belongings.

At the receipt of this letter, Duarte de Lemos became more reasonably minded, and all his expectations were dispelled which Jeronymo Teixeira and Francisco de Sá had aroused in him, that he was to remain forsooth, after having fulfilled his term of duty, as Governor of India, seeing that he had succeeded to the chief captainship of the coast of Arabia upon the death of Jorge Daguiar his uncle, who would have became Governor of India if he had lived: but this was not so, for, as to the succession to the Government of India, D. Afonso de Noronha had the reversion of it, if he lived. After the day in which Gonçalo de Sequeira arrived had passed, whereas Afonso Dalboquerque thought of nothing else but the return to the attack of Goa, and was desirous of arriving at a conclusion of the business before any more time should be spent, on the following day he desired Gonçalo de Sequeira, Duarte de Lemos, and Diogo Mendez, and the rest of the captains who were there to meet; and when all were assembled he related to them everything that had taken place in Goa, and in the river during the time that he was there; and how, after he had sailed out of the river and arrived at Onor, Timoja had informed him that the Hidalcão had immediately departed with all his army, because all the lords of the kingdom of Decan had risen up in rebellion against him; and in consequence of the war in which the Hidalcão was engaged with these lords, he was prevented from coming to the assistance of Goa, and thus by this conjunction of events he, Afonso, could take it and make himself lord of it; therefore he begged that, as the Goa business was in this state, they would advise him what he should do.

Then the captains held their council concerning these propositions which Afonso Dalboquerque presented, and there were numerous discussions and many differences of opinion; for Gonçalo de Sequeira and Duarte de Lemos, and the captains who were about to return to Portugal, declared that it was more to the service of the King of Portugal that he should go and arrange the terms of peace with the King of Cambaya,—who was very desirous of it, and begged it with great show of reason,—than to return to Goa; that this enterprise was a very hazardous affair and one of great peril, and would result in no profit for the King of Portugal. But they gave these opinions in favour of avoiding the affair, because they were more anxious to load their ships and return to Portugal than to gain experience in their own persons of the hardships which their comrades had already undergone in the river of Goa.

Diogo Mendez and his captains, with all the *fidalgos*, and the rest of the Indian military staff, however, were of opinion that they should fall upon Goa again, because the Hidalcão was so far off that he could not relieve the place with sufficient rapidity; and even if he were to come, it would only be by the time our people had put an end to the affair; and if the matter did not succeed, as all hoped to God that it would, there would yet be time enough for them to proceed to Cambaya to interview the King and arrange terms of peace with him.

After it had been decided, by a majority of votes, that a renewed attack upon Goa should be made, Afonso Dalboquerque said to Duarte de Lemos and to Gonçalo de Sequeira that he begged them of their goodness to be pleased to go with him on his side in that enterprise, because, since Goa could not be relieved by the Hidalcão on account of the war in which he was engaged, very little time would be required by them for the re-capture, and thereby they would lose no opportunity for making their

voyages. But they excused themselves, and gave their reasons, why they could not be with him in that business. But I well believe that when they saw the city was taken, they would have given much to have been found taking a part in the business, that they should not have returned to Portugal with such a bad name. Afonso Dalboquerque was not very well pleased with them; nevertheless, he commanded that his fleet should be made ready and everything which was required, with the intention of taking in hand the performance of this affair with the people whom he had now under his command, and to leave the rest to God, to direct as should be best for his own service.

And while Afonso Dalboquerque was occupied in this hasty way, there arrived a *Catur*[1] from Cochim with a letter from the King for him, wherein it was related that the King, the uncle of the present one, was dead, and that certain Moors, his enemies, and others, who styled themselves friends, had risen up in rebellion against him, and had gone over to one of his cousins, who desired to become king, all in consequence of the advice given by the King of Calicut, to put him in possession of the land; therefore he begged him of his goodness, if his affairs did not occupy him very much, that he would pay him a visit, because he had no one with whom he could take counsel, nor from whom he could derive assistance except him; because his cousin, who desired to become king, was at Vaipim, and all the lords who had come to see him had told him to go and put himself into his uncle's grave, and if he did not care to do so, his cousin would have to kill him; and the most powerful opponent he had was the King of Calicut; yet, with all these oppressions, he would never separate himself from the service of the King of Portugal, for he would always act in accordance with the policy of his uncle with regard to the

[1] See page 55, note 1.

troubles which the Portuguese experienced in India since it was discovered.

Afonso Dalboquerque related the contents of this letter to the captains, and all were of opinion that he ought to go and see to this matter without the least delay, before the King of Calicut took any more steps in it. Therefore, Afonso Dalboquerque determined to set out immediately, and commanded Gonçalo de Sequeira, with the ships of his own company, and the captains who had remained out of the fleet of the Marshal, to make themselves ready in order to set sail the next day in the morning with him to Cochim, and when there he would dispatch them to Portugal. And, forgetting the dissensions which he had with Duarte de Lemos, he left him in Canauor to act in his name with all the power and authority of Governor which belonged to himself in person.

CHAPTER LI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set out for Cochim, and arranged the differences between the King and his cousin: and what passed with the captains while stationed at Cochim.

On the following day, which was the twenty-second day of the month of September, in the evening, the great Afonso Dalboquerque set out for Cochim, and took with him Gonçalo de Sequeira with all his ships, and those which remained of the Marshal's fleet to take in their lading and to set forth for Portugal, and the two galleys, and the ship lately taken from the Rumes, and disposed all the other fleet in a line along the coast to prevent any ship from entering into Goa, whether it should come from the Straits or from any other part, with supplies.

And he reached Cochim on the twenty-sixth of the said month, and immediately went on shore to visit the King,

who was already in expectation of his arrival, with all the *Caimais*[1] of his court, and with many other persons, and so they all went to the fortress, and there the captain had prepared for him a house well furnished, where they sat down. And after the King had given him great thanks for that kindness and honour which he had shown him in coming at his request, he proceeded to relate all his troubles, and that the Brahmans told him, now that his uncle was dead, he would be obliged to place himself in the grave, for this was their ancient custom.

Afonso Dalboquerque then said to him, that as the King D. Manuel, his Lord, had caused him to be received as King upon oath of fealty during the lifetime of his uncle, therefore he should be king, and he need not trouble himself with his customs nor with that which his Brahmans had told him, for this should be so, and that he should be confirmed in his kingdom; for he and all the Portuguese who were there, and many others whom the King his Lord would send from Portugal, would spend their lives in his service, and in sustaining him in his estate; and therefore let him send word to his cousin—if he were still in Vaipim—to depart forthwith and to quit the island, because, if he were unwilling to do so, he was determined to fall upon him and destroy him and all those who should be found in his company.

And because Afonso Dalboquerque, as long as he was Governor of India, always made use of artifices with the kings and lords thereof, in order to instil terror into them and draw them over to his alliance and to preserve the authority of the state of the King D. Manuel, when he uttered these words he rose up out of his chair wherein he was seated, and drew out his sword, and declared to the King of Cochim that he ought not to be afraid of all the power of the King of Calicut, for he was his *Naire*,[2] and for him he

[1] See vol. i, page 3, note.

[2] See vol. i, page 4, note.

would lay down his life, whenever it should be required of him; and that neither the King of Calicut nor his *pagodes*[1] would avail anything with his cousin against him; and as this was the true state of the case he would beg him of his goodness to remain for ever a true and loyal ally of the King D. Manuel, his lord, and to be grateful to him for the love and goodwill which he had evinced towards him by ordering his elevation to the throne, and to act in such a manner as not to lose this, because there was nothing which could destroy him except his ingratitude towards the King, his lord, in return for the kindness which had been shewn to him; and he would promise him that, on the conclusion of the business at Goa, he would afford him an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance upon the King of Calicut.

The King of Cochim replied, that he was the subject of the King of Portugal, and therefore he had nothing to say in the way of answer to these words of Afonso Dalboquerque, except that he would always perform whatever was required of him on the King's part. On the conclusion of this interview, the King of Cochim returned to his palace, and sent word to his cousin who was in Vaipim, on the part of Afonso Dalboquerque, to quit the island and get him gone without delay; for if he did not go, Afonso Dalboquerque would come up against him with all his army and destroy him. The King's cousin, as soon as he heard that Afonso Dalboquerque had arrived with the object of following him up and destroying him, quitted the island and desisted from the dissensions which he had kept up with the King of Cochim, and departed.

Now that these disturbances had been settled, Afonso Dalboquerque summoned to meet him Gonçalo de Sequeira, and all the captains and officers of the King who were in Cochim, and declared to them, that in all former councils which he had held concerning the business at Goa, he had

[1] *Pagodes*, Pagodas; here used figuratively for Brahmans or Priests.

not cared to declare his opinion, in order that they should not imagine that he desired to undertake that enterprise rashly and more out of vengeance for what had already taken place than because it was an important service for the King, his lord; but now he would assure them that if they did not succeed in taking Goa, and if the league which had been entered into between the Hidalcão and the Kings of Cambaya and Calicut flourished any longer, out of the expectation they had of obtaining the assistance of the Grand Sultan, it would be a very doubtful point whether the King of Portugal could retain India; and the principal motive which impelled him to take in hand this deed was the presence at this moment in India of so noble an army, so many captains, so many ships from Portugal, which encouraged him to do it; therefore he begged them of their goodness, before the officers of the King there present, that since at Cananor they had been of opinion, for reasons already given, that he should return again to attack Goa, to go willingly with him in the execution of his plans, for if they all went just as they then were, they would not lose the opportunity of making their voyage.

Then Gonçalo de Sequeira and the other captains began to declare that it would not be to the service of the King for the ships of burthen to proceed to Goa, and that it would also be reasonable to allow the men some opportunity of performing their engagements, since they had come to India with this object in view; and thus they went on adducing other arguments to excuse themselves from going with him. Thereupon, Afonso Dalboquerque said to them, that since they were searching out for inconveniences, to the end that they should not render the King any service in this enterprise, they might remain behind, for he had made up his mind not to take any against their will, but they must give an account of their conduct in Portugal to the King their Lord; as for himself, his mind was quite

made up to go up against Goa with the army he had; and he trusted in the Passion of Our Lord, in whom he had placed all his reliance, that before they could sail away to Portugal, they would hear the news of how he was taking his rest at ease within the city of Goa, and an unfortunate creature must that Portuguese cavalier reckon himself, were such a good stroke of fortune to be gained, who should not be found taking part in this deed; and he intended to embark on the following morning, and let those follow him who chose to do so; but many allowed themselves to remain behind and would go no further.

So Afonso Dalboquerque set sail, leaving the cargo which was to proceed this year to this kingdom [of Portugal] already in proper order. And on arriving at Cananor he found Lourenço Moreno, who had arrived but two days before him, with the ships laden with supplies; and Lourenço Moreno related to him that on reaching Baticalá he had immediately sent Pocaracem[1] to land to converse with the rulers respecting the treaty which was to be concluded between them, but he found them quite changed in their opinions, and they had declared that they would do nothing without first of all finding whether the King of Narsinga, their lord, approved of it; and seeing that they were unwilling to come to any conclusion, he had laden his ships and sailed away and touched at Onor and given the letter to Timoja, who was busy getting himself ready, as well as the King of Garçopa, with all his people, with the intention of co-operating with him in the Goa expedition, and therefore he could proceed as soon as he pleased.

As soon as Lourenço Moreno had given to Afonso Dalboquerque an account of what had passed, he was sent off immediately with his ships to Cochim, to hasten the departure of the captains, and to see to the shipping of three

[1] The name apparently of a Mahometan, employed as an interpreter by the Portuguese, called *Porcassem* in chapter xlviii.

elephants, which he had left there, to be conveyed to the King D. Manuel in the ships which Afonso Dalboquerque had set aside for this purpose. And when Lourenço Moreno had set out, Duarte de Lemos besought Afonso Dalboquerque to provide him a transport for himself and his brother, for the purpose of proceeding to Portugal, since the King would have it so for his service. And Afonso Dalboquerque, forgetting all the ill-feeling which had now passed away, gave him all he required, and commanded every thing that was properly due to be paid to him and to his servants, and invested him with the chief captainship of seven ships, and supreme command over that fleet which he was to exercise after passing clear of the coast of India, and so dismissed him to make his way to Cochim. And when he arrived there, he fell into great dissensions with the officers of the factory, and did other things, which I pass over in silence, to have no murmurers who may say that I was not impartial. This Duarte de Lemos was a noble *fidalgo*, and was the largest man in Portugal, and very conceited, and had his front teeth inordinately long.

* * *

END OF THE SECOND PART.

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